ÉDITION DE LUXE

GREAT RACES OF MANKIND

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ETHNIC ORIGIN, PRIMITIVE ESTATE, EARLY MIGRATIONS, SOCIAL EVOLUTION, AND PRESENT CONDITIONS AND PROMISE OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES OF MEN

TOGETHER WITH A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY ON THE TIME, PLACE AND MANNER OF THE BEGINNING

COMPLETE IN EIGHT VOLUMES

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.,

AUTHOR OF A "CYCLOPÆDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY," ETC.

VOLUME V

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLORED PLATES, RACE MAPS AND CHARTS, TYPE PICTURES, SKETCHES AND DIAGRAMS

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PREFACE TO VOLUME V.

WITH an account of the Norse and Slavic races I now complete, in the first part of the current volume, the discussion of the TEUTONIC PEOPLES. Such has been the importance of the race that it has long occupied our attention, but not longer than the interest of the subject has seemed to demand. Teutonism in one form or other tends to predominance in modern history. We may not clearly discover whether or not the Germanic element in the civilization of the present century is destined to rise to such supremacy as to overshadow the rest; but there are indications pointing to such a conclusion of affairs. True, it is not the Teutonic part pure and simple that leads the existing races of mankind; for that part is not sufficiently aggressive to take the world for its inheritance. But the modified Teutonism of the English races seems to portend the supremacy of the same in the twentieth century.

The general view of the Norse races reveals an aspect somewhat different from that presented by the same stock a thousand years ago. At that time the peoples of the Baltic and the North sea gave token of a purpose to possess themselves of the better parts of Europe. The Norman element spread in this direction and in that, incorporating with itself the other elements of race-life in the West, and taking on new forms of development. It can hardly be said that within the last three centuries the Scandinavian races are less powerful and fecund than they were in the earlier Middle Ages; but they have become less aggressive, and have diffused themselves abroad with a mild force little analogous to the vehemence of the Old Norse.

Quite unlike this order of development is that of THE SLAVS. These races have issued with violence and threatening demeanor upon the Eastern frontiers of Europe. They have multiplied and organized and civilized to the extent of changing the whole constitution of European ethnography and history. The growth of the Russian race has been, within the current century, something phenomenal. I have attempted in this volume to delineate the leading features in the ethnic life of the Slavs, and to point out with some fullness those qualities upon which the power and promise of the race depend. We shall find the Slavs to be widely diffused throughout Northeastern Europe, and to have an ethnic overlap of no small extent in the countries defined as Teutonic. There is a manifest tendency of the Slavs to spread abroad into foreign countries. America, within the current period, has received and is still receiving from this source a considerable element of her foreign populations.

With the discussion of the Slavic race we conclude the Aryan or Indo-European division of mankind. This division, however, is not conterminous with the Ruddy races. The latter extend to the inclusion of both the Semitic and the Hamitic divisions of the race. To the SEMITES we next turn attention, and consider them from their origin in the Mesopotamian countries to their latest developments in Arabia, and as a dif-

fused stock of Hebrews throughout the world.

The Semitic races began to display their force and capacity in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris. There they parted into two divisions, of which the elder branch occupied the low-lying country about the head of the Persian Gulf. It was here that the ancient Chaldæan people emerged from the prehistoric night and planted one of the oldest civilizations of mankind. The descendants of the Arphaxad race spread through the alluvial region referred to and into the surrounding countries. It extended its sway eastward to the Susianian mountains and southwestward far into the desert countries of Arabia. The Chaldæans built great cities, learned the arts, invented manufactures, opened the ways of commerce, warred with unknown races of half-barbarians round about, laid the foundations of natural science, studied the stars.

The other branch of the elder Semites was the race of Asshur. The beginning of its ascendency was on the Upper Tigris, to the east. The Assyrian evolution at length overtopped the ancient people of the plain. An ethnic development ensued, which from its historical importance may be compared with the Medo-Persian power in Asia and the rise of the Græco-Roman race in Europe. We have attempted in this volume to delineate the race life of the old Aramæans in their two divisions of Chaldees and Assyrians; also, to sketch the character of the modern peoples descendent from the ancient races.

After the Aramaic, the Hebraic division of the Semites next claims attention. This stock of mankind has a conspicuous place among the peoples of Western Asia. For a brief period its political and historical rank was such as to draw the attention of several races to the scene of its development at the eastern extreme of the Mediterranean. But the rise of the Hebrews to historic importance was brief and impermanent. Only for a short period did the Hebrew state remain as a competitor for historical preëminence. Then the race began to decline from its civil station, but retained its interest from another point of view.

In the study of the peoples, defined as Semitic, we shall find a large measure of interest arising from the fact that they, more than any others, have been the originators of the prevalent forms of religion. This may not perhaps be said, if we consider religions according to the *numbers* respectively professing them. But it is certainly true, if we estimate religious institutions according to their *rank* and *importance*.

Out of Semitic originals the great religious institutions of Europe and America have descended. There was a time when the diffusion of Christianity was broadened to include Northern Africa and several important regions in the East. From this wider extent it retired into Europe proper and to those countries which Europe has peopled. In these the derived form of the ancient Semitic faith has become intensified and fixed as a part of current civilization.

In other particulars the Semitic races are not to be set in comparison with the Indo-Europeans. The former have shown but small capacity as a governing and controlling force among the nations. The Hebraic division we shall find to have lost its nationality, but to have retained a great name among all the civilized peoples of the world.

J. C. R.

GREENCASTLE, 1894.

ÉDITION DE LUXE

GREAT RACES

OF

MANKIND

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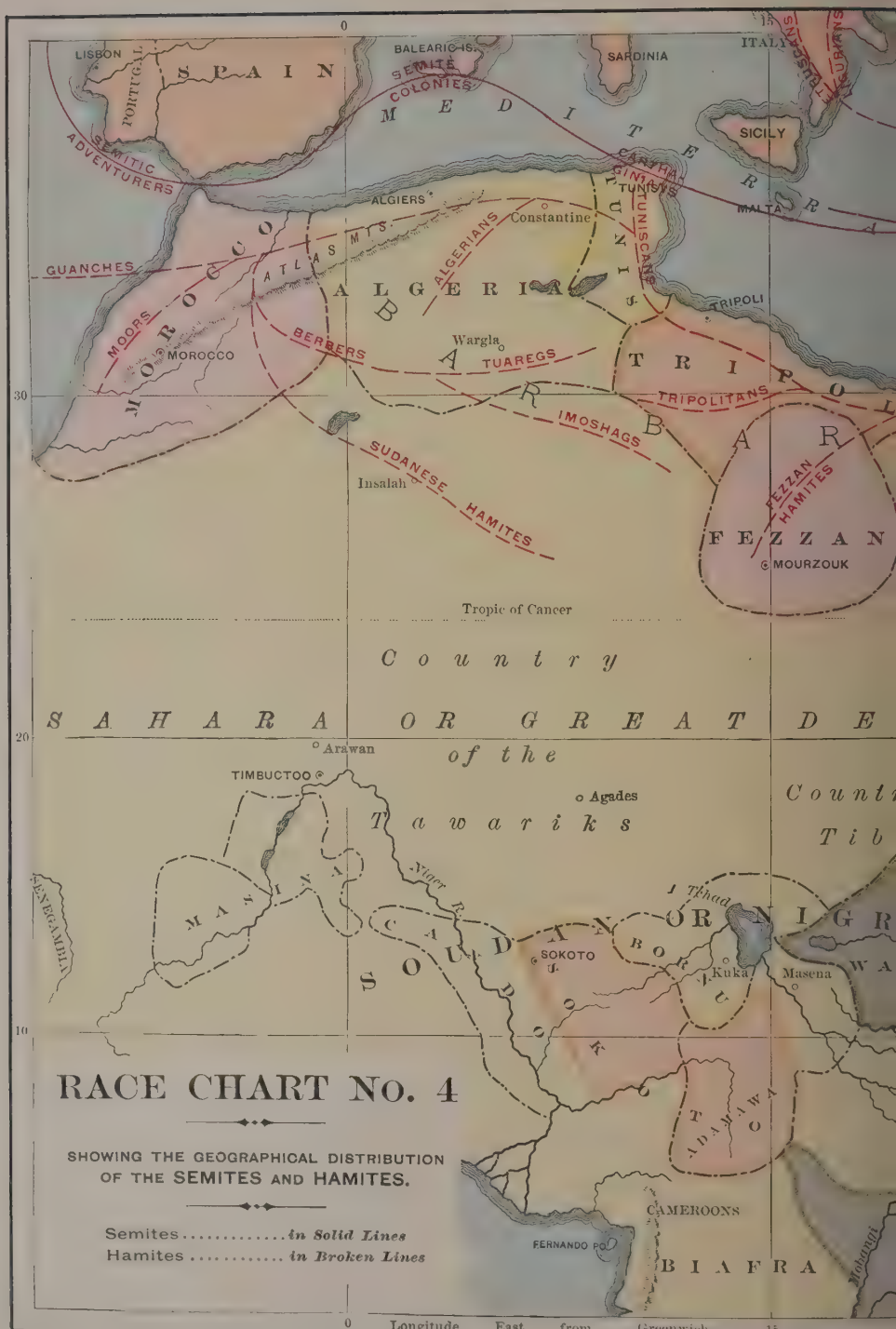

RACE CHART No. 4

SHOWING THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE SEMITES AND HAMITES.

Semites ..... *in Solid Lines*
Hamites ..... *in Broken Lines*

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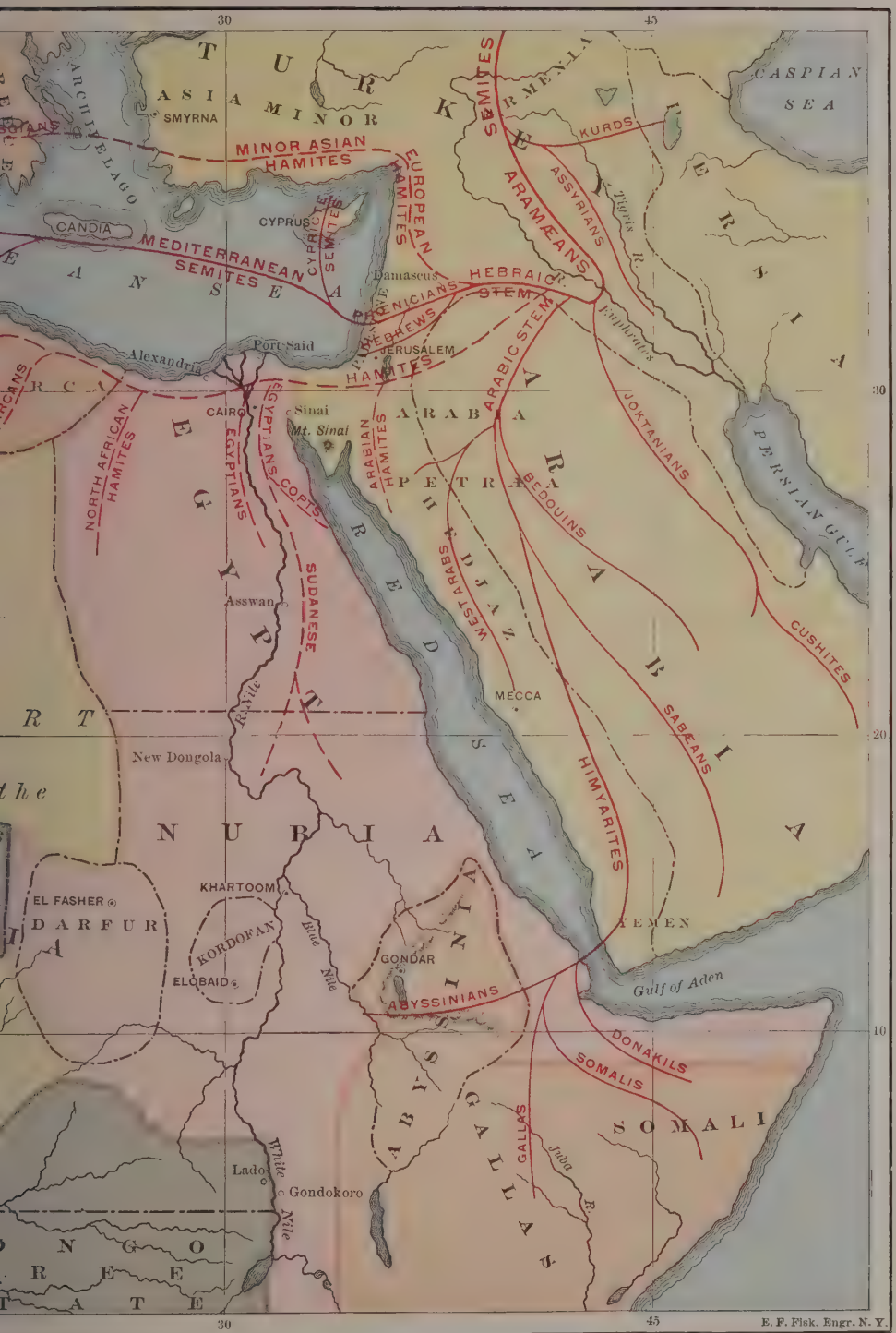
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T U R K E Y
ASIA MINOR
SMYRNA
ARCHIPELAGO
SCIARE
MINOR ASIAN HAMITES
EUROPEAN SEMITES
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CANDIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEMITES
SEMITES
ARMENIA
KURDS
CASPIAN SEA
ASSYRIANS
ARAMÆANS
Tigris R.
Euphrates
PERSIA
Damascus
HEBRAIC STEM
PHŒNICIANS
HEBREWS
Port Said
Alexandria
JERUSALEM
HAMITES
ARABIC STEM
JOKTANIANS
PERSIAN GULF
CAIRO
Sinai
Mt. Sinai
ARABIA
ARABIAN HAMITES
PETRÆA
BEDOUINS
NORTH AFRICAN HAMITES
EGYPTIANS
COPTS
EGYPT
RED SEA
WEST ARABS
HEDJAZ
CUSHITES
Asswan
Nile R.
SUDANESE
MECCA
SABÆANS
HIMYARITES
New Dongola
NUBIA
KHARTOOM
EL FASHER
DARFUR
KORDOFAN
EL OBAID
Blue Nile
GONDAR
ABYSSINIANS
ABYSSINIA
YEMEN
Gulf of Aden
DONAKILS
SOMALIS
SOMALI
GALLAS
Juba R.
Lado
Gondokoro
White Nile
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E. F. Fisk, Engr. N. Y.

Part Fourth—Continued.

THE WEST ARYANS.

BOOK XII.—THE NORSE RACES.

CHAPTER XCI.—THE ICELANDERS.

WE may now pass to the North, and take up the consideration of that great branch of the Teutonic race called Scandinavian, or Norse. Scandinavia is a geographical and ethnical term; Norse, a linguistic term. We have already seen how cogent are the reasons for believing that the peoples of Norway, Sweden, and Iceland had an original community of race descent with the Istavonian and particularly the Ingavonian, Germans. The deflection of the Scandinavians from the Low German family was much slighter than that which divided them from the peoples beyond the Rhine and in Upper Germany. More properly we should determine these relations by priority of movement rather than the divergence of lines. Who came first, and into what parts were they distributed? are the questions with which the ethnographer and historian are concerned, rather than, By how great a divergence are the people separated?

Race community of the Icelanders and Low Germans.

If we glance over the whole field, we shall find that the Celtic immigration was the first by which the Aryan peoples were distributed into the west of Europe. We shall also find that this movement proceeded out of Russia, across Germany, into Gaul and Spain and Britain. Next to this, we doubt

Probable order of race distribution in Northwestern Europe.

not, came the Scandinavian division of the Teutonic race, throwing its van far to the north, into Upper Sweden and Norway and Iceland. Following this came the great division of Ingavonians, or Low Germans, distributing themselves along the shores of the Baltic, into Jutland, and on the coasts of the North sea; afterwards into Great Britain and Normandy. These Low Germans were in their ethnic relations much mistaken by the ancient writers. They were themselves called Scandinavians, while the true Scandinavians were lost sight of, from their inaccessible situation. If we take Sweden, for instance, there has never been a time since the prehistoric ages when the Low German Swedes were not discriminated from the Scandinavians of the upper parts of the kingdom. Last of all, if we mistake not, came the High Germans, drawing after them the Letto-Slavic race. No doubt, as we have said, the Wends on the right bank of the Elbe mark the extreme western limits of the Slavic excursion, the same losing its force partly in Saxony and partly about the longitude of Denmark. We have now considered the High Germans and the Low Germans in their respective distribution and development. Let us, then, attempt a like review of the Scandinavians beyond the Baltic.

Of the old Norse countries undisturbed by foreign, historical, and ethnical shocks and revolutions, the first place should be given to Iceland. The name means island, and not, as might be popularly supposed, the land of ice. It was called by preëminence *The Island*, and its remoteness and isolation well warrant such a name. Iceland extends from about 63° 23′ to 66° 33′ N., and from 13° 22′ to 22° 35′ W. From the northernmost point of Scotland it is five hundred miles away, being twice as great a distance as it is to Greenland. The maximum dimensions of the island are three hundred by two hundred miles. Its area is thirty-nine thousand two hundred square miles, being considerably larger than Ireland. It was into this remote seagirt country, far to the north, and preserved only from the rigors of the frigid zone by the gulf current flowing near by, that the first or foremost division of the Norse, or Scandinavian, race made its way in the prehistoric ages. It is here, at the present time, that the oldest and most faithful type of the ancient Teutonic life may be viewed and considered. Every circumstance has conspired to preserve in this ocean land the unmodified character of the original stock by which it was peopled.

Character of Iceland; priority of the Norse evolution.

It is doubtful whether any other country in the world, unless we except some of the Oriental empires, has for so long a time supported a single race of men, permitting their development by natural laws and the ethnic forces peculiar to themselves. The land and the people are alike full of interest. Iceland was far ahead of every other country in Europe in intellectual development and the production of a literature in the ages subsequent to the destruction of the Roman empire in the West. Before the Anglo-Saxons in the age of Alfred began to cultivate literature as an art; before the Normans first raised the notes of song on the banks of the Lower Seine; before the Visigoths, or the Islamites who succeeded them, had begun the formation of literary models in the southwestern peninsula of Europe, the Icelanders, under the thick fogs of their inhospitable island, had evolved from

Early development of the intellectual life in Iceland.

ICELANDIC LANDSCAPE.—Crater of Mt. Hecla.—Drawn by Y. Dargent, after a sketch of Nougaret

their consciousness, on the vehicle of the Norse tongue, the elements of a literature which, as compared with the area and situation of the land and the number of people inhabiting it, was altogether in excess as to quantity and quality of any other production west of the Hellespont and the Nile.

This is particularly true of the historical and chronicle literature of Iceland.

VIEW OF LAKE THINGVALLA.—Drawn by V. Foulquier, after a sketch of Nougaret.

Great value of the Norse chronicles and sagas.

This branch of early learning has a precision and critical quality which could not be paralleled in any other annals of the Middle Ages. The phases of Icelandic life, the circumstances of social and political development, are preserved in the Norse chronicles and sagas with a particularity and truthfulness quite uncommon in the mythical ages of history. The philologist, as well as the historian, finds in the island, or rather in its people, a living example of a language which has suffered less mutation, less corruption of grammar and vocabulary, than any other Teutonic speech whatever. Only the translation of the Bible into Mœso-Gothic, by the Visigothic Ulfilas, may be fairly compared with the work done in Iceland in the earlier centuries of our era.

Preoccupation of Iceland by Celts: Norse conquest.

Ethnically considered, it is believed that before the incoming of the Scandinavians Iceland was inhabited by the Celts. It is said that a colony of Erse folk, called the Culdees, was established in four thousand homesteads in Iceland, nearly all of which were maritime. However this may be, it is quite certain that the Teutonic folks came into the island from Norway. It is believed that the first settlements of Scandinavians were led by Norwegian noblemen, who

had fled as a consequence of their aristocratic character. There is a tradition to the effect that Queen Aud, widow of Olaf the White, brought over an Icelandic immigration about the year 890. The Christian faith had already been accepted in Scandinavia, and was thus planted at any early period in Iceland. From the first, political stability seems to have characterized the development of the Icelandic nationality. The popular epoch of the islanders was the year 874, and ever since that date Iceland has remained an appanage of the Danish crown. In our own times, namely, in 1874, the thousandth anniversary of the national era was celebrated with every circumstance of patriotic pride; and visitors were gathered to this ancient seat of the Norse race from almost every civilized country in Europe and the New World.

DEPARTURE OF A CARAVAN.—Drawn by V. Foulquier, after a sketch of Nougaret.

After the immigrations referred to, by which a Scandinavian population was carried into Iceland, others followed, adding to the increment already in possession of the country. These were from the Western islands, the native lair of the Vikings. The seafarers went forth after their manner, and found lodgment on the western coast of Iceland. There were four classes of population thus established, in course of time giving rise to four divisions in the political geography of the island. But all were Norse. If there was an original Celtic population it was swept away, and by the beginning of the twelfth century there were fifty thousand people in the island. Of these there were about four thousand five hundred *franklins*, or heads of houses.

Successive increments; classification of the people.

The social organization was like that which we have already ascribed to the German race. It was a clanship, with the father of the house at its head—a chieftainship in which many of the common blood followed a given head, who led in war, and to a certain extent commanded in peace. This organization was not formed in Iceland, but was brought over by the immigrants, and constituted the basis of the land division which was made after the Norse race was established in Iceland. Each chief, or leader, held a claim upon a portion of the land, and the same was parceled out freely among his followers. The situation was such as to favor the increase of the rank which natural conditions had

Social organization; the chieftains become lords.

given to the leader, or chief. In course of time he grew into a lord, or petty king. Sometimes he was the priest of the clan. In one respect, however, his authority was limited. The *godhorth*, or tie, by which each peasant was bound to service might be broken by himself, and his allegiance transferred at his own will to another franklin.

Slow growth of population; dependency on Denmark.

During the last eight centuries the population of the island has risen only from fifty thousand to seventy thousand souls. It has been the slowest and, in many respects, the most peculiar evolution which civilization has presented. It has been a natural growth. Everything in the country is at once modern and primitive—primitive in its origin and modern in its development. We have already noted the long continued and satisfactory dependence of the country on Denmark. We may judge from the political condition what institutions are native to the genius of the Teutonic race. The King of Denmark is the executive head of the people, but there is a legislative department of the government, called the Althing, consisting of thirty-six members. Six of these are nominated by the king, and the other thirty are elected by the people. It is an Assembly of two Houses, meeting every second year. The Senate is composed of the six legislators chosen by the king and six others selected from those who are chosen by the people. The remaining twenty-four constitute the lower, or popular, branch of the Legislature. The Secretary of State for Iceland resides in Copenhagen, and is responsible both to the king and to the Althing for the maintenance of the constitution and for the regular conduct of national affairs. A governor general is appointed by the king and sent out to the island. His name in Norse means *land*. There were two lieutenant governors, one for the North and East, and one for the South and West.

Sheriffalty and minor offices; prevalence of Lutheranism.

The next office in dignity is the sheriffalty, then the revenue officers, then the judges, and so on to the minor officers of the municipalities, etc. There is a Superior Court, consisting of three judges, at the capital of the country, and to this tribunal all appeals are taken from the courts of the sheriffs. The Icelanders are all of one religious belief. They are Protestants of the Lutheran type. The single bishop of the island is appointed by the king. There are two hundred and ninety parishes. There is a system of church revenue like that of the Church of England. The entire support of the ministry is derived from the two sources of property-tax and tithing.

Education universal; schools and universities.

We now come to what may be regarded as the most remarkable and praiseworthy aspect of Icelandic civilization. Education is universal. It is declared by those who have made a study of educational statistics that in no other country of the world are the standards so high and the amount of scholastic information so great on the average among all classes as in this foggy island of the North Atlantic. It is said with confidence that in the whole island, from the crooked sealine to the central mountains, there is not a child ten years of age unable to read. The Icelander of adult years might be called a scholar. It is no unusual thing to find a peasant who understands several languages, not indeed by the necessities of intercourse, as might happen in one of the great marts of the world, but because he has been taught the languages in school.

It is alleged, moreover, that the average amount of information possessed by the Icelandic citizen is greater than that of the citizen of any other community in the world. And yet elementary schools, primary schools as we should call them in America, have been but recently introduced into Iceland. The children were taught hitherto at the hearthstone, and the mothers and fathers were the teachers. It is doubted whether the introduction of formal schools under public management has improved the grade of scholarship and intelligence. The higher education of the Icelanders is classical and general. There is one principal university at Reikiavik, the capital, an institution with seven professors and about one hundred students. There is also a theological institution, with three professors, and a medical college, under the charge of the general physician of the island, who is an officer of the government. Students of law have to fit themselves for the practice of their profession by a course of lectures at the University of Copenhagen.

ICELANDIC CHURCH.
Drawn by H. Clerget, after a sketch of Nougaret.

Almost the whole population of Iceland is distributed on small landholdings. It is the most freehold state of the world. The capital town has about two thousand five hundred inhabitants, and the next town, called Isafjörthur, situated in the northwest part of the island, has no more than four hundred. The whole people live on isolated farms, the average number of residents to a homestead being seven persons. The

A race of freeholders; indigence and care of the poor.

average wealth in Iceland is low. It is said that the largest landowner has a revenue of only fifteen hundred dollars a year. Yet there is no abject poverty. The pauperism of the country is mostly engendered by the extreme generosity of the people in extending aid to the indigent. There is public provision made for the maintenance of the poor—undoubtedly an erroneous theory in the state. In some places the taxes for the support of paupers exceed the sum of all other taxes put together.

Another circumstance tends also to indigence, and that is the exceeding easiness of procuring subsistence under the conditions of the country and the government. The year is divided into a working and a nonworking period, the first extending through five months, and the latter about seven. The business which is prosecuted with most energy is hay-making. The period of this crop, which is the principal one of the island, covers about two months. It is a voca-

Manner of industry and means of subsistence.

tion which has respect to another which is the principal resource of the island, that is, stock-raising and herding.

During the greater part of the year the cattle and sheep and goats and swine must be housed and fed. This requires an abundance of hay. Cereals have no part in the industries of the island. Rye and barley can be grown in a few favored localities, but the crop is regarded as of no importance. To the latter pursuit the people have devoted themselves from prehistoric times. The next industries of greatest value are fowling and fishing. The latter is one of the regular pursuits of the islanders. The food of the people is made up almost exclusively from these three sources: the domestic animals, fish, and fowls, and these are easy to raise or procure. As for the rest, vegetables are grown to a considerable extent. Otherwise, scurvy would attack and destroy the inhabitants.

It is said by those who have watched carefully the character of the people that what may be called the intellectual industries are at a low stage of development. Though the people are rich in information, though they have a high degree of intellectual training, they nevertheless seem not to understand any of the commercial values of intelligence and learning. For this reason the vast and varied mental industries which are prosecuted with so much success in other countries are wanting among the islanders, or at best, are in the lowest stage. The small population of the island has been attributed in part to this want of intellectual vocations. It is more proper, however, to assign as the cause of the smallness of the popu-

The people know not the commercial values of intelligence.

OLD NORSE BOAT.

lation the want of the commercial spirit. At the beginning of the present century the whole population of the country did not exceed that at the beginning of the twelfth. As we have said, the present census does not show a population in excess of seventy thousand.

The state of society in general is extremely simple. It is also law-abiding in the last degree. There seems little disposition among the people—little ambition—to increase in numbers. The island might easily support a half million inhabitants. At the present time it has about one eighth of this number. But the islanders may claim with justice that they make up in moral character what they lack in popular strength. Nor may we rashly conclude—considering what must be the ultimate end of civilization—that the massing of population is to be weighed against human happiness. Crime is almost unknown, and the force required to maintain authority is at a minimum.[1]

Simplicity and law-abiding character of the Icelanders.

COD FISHING.—Drawn by Jules Noël, after a sketch of Nougaret.

[1] As illustrative of the law-abiding spirit of the Icelanders, an incident recorded by Bayard Taylor is worthy of repetition, not so much indeed from its humorous quality, as in demonstration of the absolutely peaceable temper of the Icelanders. On the occasion of the great Millennial Celebration in the midsummer of 1874, the King of Denmark came over, in the height of the ceremonies, and was present one day during the session of the Althing, held in the picturesque mountain valley and under the open sky, after the manner of antiquity. Nearly the whole population of the island gathered to the festivities. It was estimated that fewer than five thousand of the inhabitants had failed to do honor to the occasion by joining in the festival. On the evening before the principal day, the single policeman, whose services on all former occasions had been sufficient to maintain the peace of the island, went in distress to the lieutenant governor and declared himself unable to keep order on the morrow unless he should have *an assistant* appointed by the governor. So the assistant was appointed, and the treasury of Iceland was strained on the anniversary day of its thousandth year by the expense of *two* policemen instead of *one!*

Life must, of necessity, in a country so far north as Iceland, present a very different aspect from what it bears in lower latitudes. The industry, as we have said, is peculiarly pastoral. Nine tenths of all the people live by their sheepfolds and cattle. From these are taken food, clothing, and all the other products which are derived immediately, or by process, from the destruction or use of the clean animals. The exportation of values has respect to an importation, the latter being chiefly wood for building purposes, iron for tools, such grains as are grown for brewing beer, foreign cloths, fur, wine, and honey. It is in this matter of simple barter that the small Icelandic commerce consists. The meadows of the country sustain themselves from year to year. The humidity is such as to perpetuate the grass crop to the next season without a second sowing. Fuel gathering from native sources is now prosecuted with difficulty. The work occupies a good part of the summer, but the more important parts are given to the shepherd's work, fishing, fowling, and particularly to making hay.

Primitive and pastoral aspect of life; meadows and hay.

With the oncoming of winter, weaving, tool-making, and other processes that may be carried on within doors are resorted to. The year in Iceland has several crises, some of them fixed by convenience and others by suggestions from nature. The Althing, or Congress, meets at midsummer; the yule feast is held at midwinter. Arval gatherings and marriages are generally celebrated at the close of summer. The productions of the country are of such sort as to bring no harvest except that of hay. The outdoor, as well as the indoor, as-

Annual festivals; natural manners of the people.

ICELANDIC COMMERCE.—Port of Reikiavik.—Drawn by Jules Noël, after a sketch of Nougaret.

pect of Icelandic life is one of more merriment and jollity than might be expected under so inhospitable a climate. It might be difficult, on the whole, to find a race more natural and free in its manners, a people more sociable and susceptible of keener gratifications, than those of Iceland. We have already recited the great differences that exist in this respect among the peoples resident around the Baltic.

NORSE WEDDING.—Drawn by Pelcoq, after a painting of Tiedeman.

Only two classes are known among the Icelanders. These are the *Gothi*, or Free, and the *Thrall*, or Unfree. The latter, however, are not slaves, but rather villains, or serfs. All the gothi are freemen. All franklins are gothi, but not all gothi are franklins. Any one of the gothi may become a franklin, and any one of the thrall may, by possessing himself of a homestead, become one of the free. Among the class known as gothi, or freemen, there is all the democratic equality which was peculiar to the prehistoric German society. Chattel slavery does not exist. The thrall lives in his own hut, much after the manner which until recently was the order of the day in Russia. A thrall passes with the sale of the lands on which he abides as a serf to the new landowner, but the price at which he passes is fixed by law, and he himself has rights that may not be violated.

Industrial division of society; the gothi and the thrall.

There was a considerable period be-

fore the introduction of Christianity into Iceland when the noble franklins, or barons, were wont to go over to Norway and to spend much of their time at the King's Court, but after paganism passed away these excursions became less frequent, and the Icelandic lords remained more at home. It became thenceforth a matter of business relating to the administration of the government and

Manner of life among the Norse nobility.

also appear that such resisting forces have been on the physical side rather than the intellectual. Such is undoubtedly the case. The history of human society is now sufficiently advanced to make us understand with the force of an equation in calculus that democracy, which is another term for the equality of men, is against the development of great fortunes, and generally against the commercial spirit which leads

HOUSES OF REIKIAVIK.—A Burial Scene.—Drawn by V. Foulquier, after a sketch of Nougaret.

kindred subjects rather than mere pleasure and search for a larger life that carried the Thanes into the larger kingdom.

We have noted elsewhere the fact that in an island that might well support five hundred thousand inhabitants the population has risen to only seventy thousand.

Forces that impede the production of population.

This fact is suggestive of some strong forces that have impeded the development of Icelandic nationality. It would

to the building up of great seaport cities and emporiums where the manufactures of the world are displayed, where the wants of all mankind are stimulated with base desire, and where that great corrupter, money, flows together and whirls in a vortex.

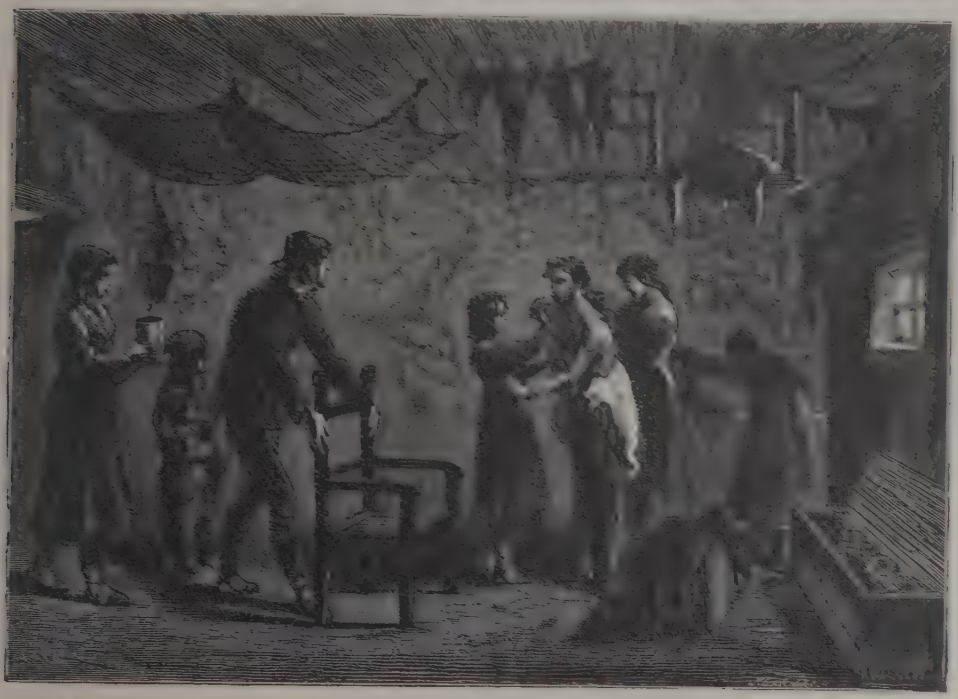
There was a time in the history of Iceland when the tendencies were in this direction. It has been remarked that the old life in the island was tur-

lulent and anarchic, but at the same time free and varied. Under these conditions the great Icelanders were produced. There were men of note, capable in war and in peace, arbitrary and strong, even luxurious in their habits. Their elevation above the peasantry was so considerable as to awaken the struggles of competition and rivalry. But it appears that in a particular manner in this country the introduction of Christianity was a leveling force which checked the play of the natural passions and abated diversity of development. We need not be surprised if the facts should show that the Icelanders are an exceedingly sincere people, that they accepted the Gospel in a literal and practical way, and that they, in the manner of simple folk, applied its principles as they were intended to be applied, in the reduction of men to a brotherhood of equals. There may have been other forces which worked in like manner to prevent the building up of great Icelandic cities, the creation of emporiums and manufactures, and the institution of those violent competitive dispositions which men display under the influences and ambitions of gain already gotten or to be acquired.

Christianity as a leveling agent thwarted the commercial life.

Unfortunately, the Reformation did little for the Icelandic people. The political situation was such as to hinder all those advantages which appeared elsewhere with the coming of the reformed faith. The social and political revolution which followed the religious movement in Germany, England, and, to some extent, in Sweden and the North, did not take place in Iceland. The dethronement of the papal system in England was only partial; but it was sufficient to break up

Poor results of the Reformation among the Icelanders.



NORSE HOSPITALITY.—Reception of Stranger by Icelandic Family.—Drawn by V. Foulquier, after a sketch of Nouzaret.

the English trade with Iceland, and to substitute therefor the commerce of the Hanse towns. Meanwhile the growth of the Danish power gave the kings of that country an opportunity to extend over Iceland an arbitrary and exacting rule such as had hitherto been unknown.

PLAGUE VISITATION.
Drawn by V. Foulquier.

Many new forms of taxation and rent were introduced, and the industries of the country were made worse rather than bettered by those far-reaching changes which had their roots in the ecclesiastical convulsion at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is alleged, moreover, that the leaders of the reformatory movement in Iceland were men of low degree, that they were not great either in genius or character, and that for this reason the movement was on a lower plane and its results less salutary than in any other Teutonic country. As might be expected, the whole religious revolution was apathetic and cold. As a consequence, the Reformation in Iceland was never disgraced with inquisitorial fires, but at the same time it was lacking in that heat and enthusiasm which are necessary for the actual regeneration of society.

A HALT IN ICELAND.—Drawn by V. Foulquier, after a sketch of Nougaret.

Iceland, in the course of her history

DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD BY LEIF ERICSSON.

during the last three centuries, has been subject to a series of disasters the like of which could hardly be paralled in the story of any other nation. At the close of the sixteenth century, namely, in 1579, and not ceasing until 1627, the country was visited with a plague of pirates out of Gascony, England, and Algiers. Some of the most dreadful panics were produced by these seacoast invasions, utterly lawless as they were, surcharged with the very spirit of robbery. Meanwhile, the weakness of the people of the island and their remoteness from Norway—to say nothing of their rather timid and unwarlike disposition and the defenseless state in which the event found the island—had conspired to reduce the country to such a state of exposure as to make everything accessible even without peril to the marauders of the deep.

Disasters to which the Icelanders have been subjected.

ICELANDIC WOMEN—COSTUMES.

But the ills which attacked the unfortunate Icelanders during the eighteenth century were still greater. Smallpox came with its ravages, and famine, with her haggard visage and glaring eyes, followed in the train. Disease crept into the sheepfold, and in 1765, and again in 1783, the island was shaken as if it would be rent into fragments by terrific earthquakes. The population of the country fell off by a fourth. On the side of human disaster, the patriot, Eggert Olafsen, who was doing his best to rouse the spirit of his countrymen and to alleviate their distress, was drowned three years after the first earthquake. The national character was wellnigh paralyzed, and it is believed that a century has not sufficed to restore the broken spirit of the people.

We have already spoken of the richness of the early mediæval literature of the Icelandic race. With it there is nothing comparable as to extent and variety in the poems and written records of any other Teutonic race of so early a date. It is from this source that modern scholars have become convinced at length that Greenland and the northeastern part of North America were colonized by the Icelanders in the tenth century. It can hardly be doubted from the contemporaneous poetry that such was the case, and that the almost fabulous adventures of certain Icelandic heroes, whose names only for a long time were transmitted by tradition, were as real as the sagas in which they are recorded. This fact has within the present century brought Iceland very near

Richness of the mediæval Icelandic literature.

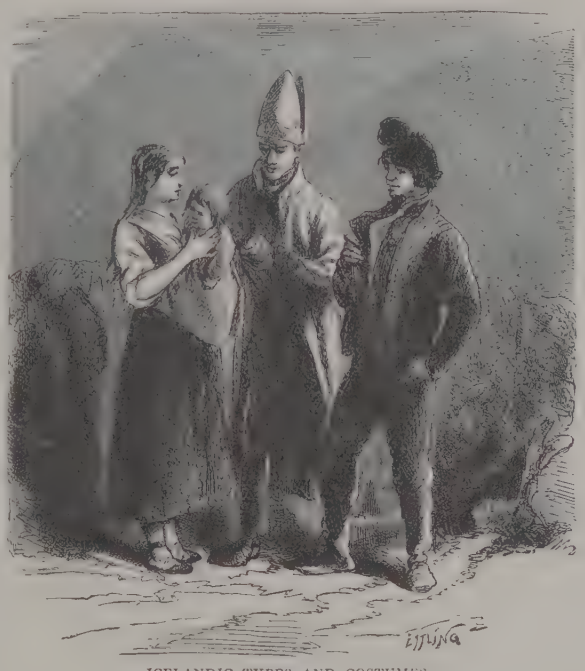
in political and race sympathies with the people of the United States.

The saga, or song, constitutes the real strength of the Icelandic productions. The native genius of the race has in this song form expressed itself to the best advantage. The saga was intended originally for oral recitation. It was after the manner of the Greek epic. It was intended as history, but was at the same time illuminated and fired with the admission into the song of all heroic emotions and poetic conceits. The saga grew up at the beginning of the eleventh century. The memory of the great deeds of the Icelandic heroes was still fresh in the minds of the men who sung them. Reverence for the fathers kindled the passion of the poet and the singer. The telling of stories was in this age the one great form of entertainment. All festivals and gatherings of the Norsefolk were enlivened with the recitation of the great episodes of the race. The saga, as the leading feature of Icelandic literature, was the result of this spirit and practice. Nor has there been produced among any people whatsoever a form of poetry, the subject and style of which has more faithfully depicted the progress of events, than have the sagas of the Norse. They are at once the heroic songs and patriotic records of the race.

Manner and motif of the sagas; their historical value.

It is from these poems that we have our knowledge of the early colonization of Greenland and Vinland, the latter meaning no other than North America. The songs in question are called the sagas of the Floe-Men. They contain incidents of the wrecked colonists in Greenland, and graphic delineations of the adventures of Eric the Red, of Herjulfson, of Leif Ericsson, of Thorwald, of Thorstein, of Thorfinn Karlsefne, and of all the other seafarers who planted in Massachusetts and Rhode Island what might have become a Norse America. The plague fell on Northern Europe; a large part of the population was swept away, and the New World was left to Spain and England.

Discovery of North America revealed in the sagas.



ICELANDIC TYPES AND COSTUMES.

CHAPTER XCII.—THE NORWEGIANS.

IT is probable that the ethnography of the future will be more elaborate, painstaking, and accurate than that of the present. Lines of demarkation will be discovered between different peoples who at the present time are classified together and counted as one. Such a division may at length be passed between Norway and Iceland, leaving the people of the latter island as the only true representatives of the old Norse stock. We have already indicated our belief that this is the extreme primary departure of the Teutonic race to the West; in other words, that the Norwegians are more Germanic and less Norse than the people of Iceland, just as the people of Sweden are more Danish and German than they are Norwegian. However this may be, it is still in accordance with the canons of ethnic criticism to classify the Norwegians and the Norsefolk of Iceland together. We will regard the latter people as thrown at an early period to a greater distance to the West and to a more isolated situation than were the people of Norway, just as the latter were thrown to a greater distance westward than were the people of Sweden.

Geographical and ethnical relations of the Norse peoples.

If our space would permit, we could show how these things were accomplished from geographical necessities and the conformities of the man to the shape and character of the region which he was to inhabit. There is, for instance, no certain line between Sweden and Norway, but for the most part the mountain chain which upholds the peninsula forms a crest from which an eastern and a western slope drop away, constituting the essential Sweden and the essential Norway. It is to the latter country that we now turn our attention, or rather to the Norwegian people, as a branch of the Teutonic family of nations.

The ancient ethnologist satisfied himself by throwing all these northern nations together and calling them Scandinavians. The process of analysis has now gone on until even the Danes and the Swedes are clearly discriminated. It appears, moreover, that the term Scandinavian was applied only to such Low Germanic folk as inhabited the south peninsulas of the Baltic; in other words, that the ancients knew nothing certainly of the peoples in the great northern peninsula, and still less of those of Iceland. The name Scandinavian has now been virtually withdrawn from the southern shore of the Baltic, though not wholly so. Jutland is still reckoned as a Scandinavian country, and when Schleswig and Holstein were wrested away from Denmark and Germanized, in our own memory, the people of Holstein were anxious for the change, being induced thereto by an ethnic sympathy; but in Schleswig the gravitation was the other way. As to Norway, whose race development we now approach, the country is undoubtedly Scandinavian, Norse, or in the phraseology of the times, Norwegian, being thus brought into race relationship with Jutland, Iceland. and Northern Sweden, but hardly with the south of Sweden, in which the people are rather to be classified as a

Progress of ethnic analysis; the term Scandinavian.

NORWEGIAN LANDSCAPE.—Valley of Vestfjordal.—Drawn by Gustave Dore.

mixed race, if not positively Germanic, both in origin and evolution.

The earliest authentic references to the Norwegian tribes are found in the writings of Jordanis, who flourished at the middle of the sixth century. He is the first historian of the Gothic race. But long before this there were native singers and chroniclers who preserved in Norse the legendary history of the race. It is believed that the primitive population of Scandinavia was made up of Lapps and Finns. At any rate, traces of these peoples are found at the present time very far south of the countries of their occupancy. At a certain prehistoric epoch these races began to give away under the pressure of the Teutonic immigrants taking their course across the Baltic, working up through Sweden and Norway, and pressing back the Lapps and Finns into the high countries where they are found at the present time.

Early Norse historians; Lapps and Finns in Norway.

The date of this Teutonic migration is not known. Ethnologists, though, incline to the opinion that it was after rather than before the beginning of the Christian era. It is a debated question as to how the first people—ancestors as they were of the Scandinavian race—made their way into the countries now called by their name, but the opinion above advanced, that they came from the South rather than from the Northern parts, has been virtually accepted as correct. It is not needed in this connection to go over the arguments which have been advanced in support of this hypothesis, or of that relative to the

DANO-NORWEGIAN FLEET OF TENTH CENTURY.

Incoming of the primitive Scandinavians.

course and source of the first Teutonic migrations. The Scandinavians came, and the Lapps and Finns disappeared or fell back before them. We are almost equally in the dark as to the character of Norwegian civilization during the first centuries after the establishment of the race in its future home. The reason for our ignorance on this point is not far to seek. It required the goings forth of the Vikings and their conquests in several parts of Northern and Northwestern Europe—that is, Continental Europe—to bring the Norwegians into the foreground of that branch of human history with which we are most familiar.

These expeditions did not occur until toward the end of the eighth century. From this time forth, for about two hundred years, the northwestern parts of Europe were by no means unfamiliar with the strong people of Norway and Denmark. The English coast was first struck in 787, and the next expedition from the same regions occurred in 793 and 794. The coasts of Scotland and Ireland and France, the southern shore of the North sea, and even the maritime parts of Spain and the insular parts of the Mediterranean all alike felt in succession the sharpness of the swords of the Northmen.

The Norse ascendency of the eighth and ninth centuries.

The term Northmen stood, at the age of which we speak, for the Dano-Norwegian people. The Norwegians are derived ethnically from Denmark. Look at the geography and see what would happen when a people had drifted northward and westward out of Continental Europe into the peninsula of Jutland. Mark the position of this projecting country and see how it penetrates the cleft end of Scandinavia, and how the continuance of the movement of the race across the narrow water between the south and north side of the Baltic would necessarily carry the emigrant tribes into Norway rather than into Sweden. The whole ethnic drift would tend to community between Denmark and Norway. The same argument might be carried out for the spread of the common race along the shores of the North sea and into the English channel. One must needs study all such aspects of human history on the double basis of solid ground and fluctuating water. Thus it happened that the Northmen of the eighth and ninth centuries were a derivative from a common home on the north and the south shores of the Western Baltic. Hence he went forth in his open boat, to write himself with his sword into the earliest annals of modern Europe.

Derivation of the Norwegians from a Danish original.

But we are not left to conjecture as to the prehistoric movements of mankind in these regions. The literature of Norway is out of Denmark. The languages are not exactly in common, but are derived from a common radical, and the divergence is slight. Philologists have been disposed to frame analogies making the relation of Norwegian to Danish the same as that of American-English to English proper. Such an analogy exists in fact; and if we penetrate below the mere formalities of speech into the spirit and thought which are expressed in the language we shall find the likeness still further wrought into the texture of the respective national histories. He who is familiar with the evolution of American literature must have observed with what pain, with what a sluggish pace, with what labor the provincial aspect of both the American language and the literature of our continent have been

Danish literature the original of the Norwegian.

loosened from the types and forms of the mother country; how the American brain has been compelled, by the exactions of custom, to think the same thoughts, to follow the same intellectual pursuits, to turn into the same mannerisms, and in every respect to imitate the form and feature and ideal traits of the mother tongue and the home literature of the race. So also in Norway. The speech and intellectual life of the people were deduced from a Danish original; and the breaking away of the national thought and aspiration in Norway from the ancestral form has been accomplished with the same difficulty as in America.

Historical facts also lead us to the conclusion that the Norwegian is a younger form of Danish life. The Danes found their most natural vent westward, along the southern shores of the North sea and across the English channel. Hence the Danes in Northumbria and East Anglia as conquerors. But the Norsemen proper, they who took to sea from the western coasts of Norway, would drift directly to the Shetland islands and to the Orkneys, and thence along the shores of Scotland. Geography will also explain how the Normans would fall by a natural course into Neustria, and how they would in the

Norwegian life and manners also proceed from the Danes.

THE VIKINGS ABROAD.

lapse of a century or two become entangled in political and historical alliances with the English people. The whole process may be thus viewed from a higher hill. The course of mankind in its general development, as distinguished from its local eddies and whorls along the shore, can be seen as a general movement, tending to general results.

NORWEGIANS OF HITTERDAL—TYPES AND MANNERS.—Drawn by Pelcoq, after a painting of Tiedeman.

If we scan critically the nature of the Norse movements out of their own countries, we should find that at bottom and for a long time after the beginning of the expeditions they were simply plundering adventurers of small companies, having booty as the motive and freedom as the mood of the movement. It was in this manner that the coasts of England and France were at first devastated. It was a robbery. The personal property, cattle, and flocks were carried away by the Danish visitants, who would have taken the earth if they could have put it into their boats.

Booty the motive of Norse adventure in ninth century.

But these excursions of the Northmen did not throw much light upon the condition of affairs at home. It was near the end of the ninth century before the internal condition of Norway was much known by the other peoples of Europe. At our first authentic acquaintance with the people the land-ownership was after the manner of the

Social condition of Norwegians; the land system.

English shire. It was divided up into *fylkis*, a word on the same root with the English *folks*. Doubtless the fylki was a district, or tract, set aside for a certain folk, or clan. In some cases, the remaining part of the word shows that some person had succeeded in connecting his name with the fylki. In some districts of Norway the fylkis were united by ties and customs which had grown up in common among them. Thus Horda-fylki, Sygna-fylki, and Firda-fylki were united to form a district called Gula-thing. At a later period the whole of Norway was laid out into regular districts, each with a common *Thing*, or legislature, and a common body of laws.

NORSE VILLAGE.

In forming these districts, however, geography was naturally used as the basis of division. Thus Frosta-thing comprehended the northern fylkis, where the cold was greatest. The fylki, which was the land of a given clan, was subdivided into *herads*, over which there was an officer called a *hersir*, who held his office by hereditary right. He corresponded to the Icelandic goth. In many cases the fylki was of so great importance that the chieftain at its head rose to the rank of jarl, the English earl; and sometimes he became a petty king. Self-government was the bottom principle in the system of law and jurisprudence.

Office of hersir; self-government a principle of organization.

In one respect the people of Norway were different in their development from those of every other Teutonic country at an equal stage of progress. This related to what we may call the village community. All the Teutonic, and, perhaps, the Slavic, races have been noted for the presence —as a part of their growing civil life—of villages, expanding into towns or cities. In Norway, however, it appears that all the land, as far back as we can go, was owned by individual proprietors, who either held it for their own use or sublet it to others —to renters, the thrall people, etc. This constituted a system of land-ownership and dependency. It was at the head of this that the hersir was placed. He, with his family and relatives and the landowners, constituted a sort of landed aristocracy, that might have grown in process of time into a system like the landlordism of England. The dependents in Norway were men of arms, who were wont, on occasion, to go forth to war, and the happiness of the people, as well as their wealth, was augmented in case of successful expeditions.

Genesis of the landed aristocracy of the Norse.

The great fact that brought the history of Norway into prominence, or rather the fact by which that history

transpired at all or was opened to the intelligence of Western Europe, was the consolidation of the country into one kingdom. Near the end of the ninth century, in the country now known as Christiania Fjord, the chief magistrate belonged to a race of kings whose legendary descent traced them to the Swedish sovereigns of Upsala. The situation of the country here was such as to bring it into easy relation with Denmark and Sweden. It has been alleged that at one time the kings of Christiania Fjord, then called the Vestfjolds, held the Danish throne, and that at another period they were tributaries to that crown. There was much commerce between the two peoples, and the Norwegians shared in the expeditions of the Danes.

Early consolidation of the Norwegian power.

In the first place, Halfdan the Black, of the Vestfjold line, extended his own province by conquest. He died at an early age, however, and left the country to his son Harald, who was the celebrated Harald Haarfager, or Harald the Fairhair. It chanced that the young prince was refused in marriage by Gyda, the daughter of Eric of Hadaland; at least refused until what time he should make himself king of all Norway. Such was the powerful stimulant applied to awaken the ambition of the prince already inflamed with love. The disturbance that ensued might well remind the classical scholar of the intrigues and wars and poetry that followed the abduction of Helen to Troy.

Apparition of Harald Haarfager; Gyda's challenge.

Harald gladly accepted the challenge, and made it as nothing to win Gyda at such a price. The conquest of all Norway was only a trifle in his devoir. He vowed that never would he shear or trim his hair until he had put the last Norwegian jarl under his authority. Then he proceeded with the conquest. In course of time he subdued all the noblemen; then sent for Gyda; ordered a festival; made her one of his wives; cut his hair, and received from Jarl Rögnwald the title of Haarfager, or Fairhair, which history has cheerfully taken up and repeated.

But this was by no means the end of the exploiting of the age. Not willingly did the old independent, half-feudal barons of the North yield to Fairhair's invasion and conquest. Many of them, unable to compete with him in battle—for his forces increased as theirs diminished—took to sea, and departed for coasts unknown, leaving behind only their immovable property. These fugitives, like them of Troy, sought another coast where they might replant the Norwegian nationality. Thus it was that they came to Iceland; thus to the Färöe islands, the Orkneys, the Shetland group, and even to the Hebrides. From several of these localities they returned at length. Men are maddened by such treatment. These noble Norse jarls became the sea Ishmaels of their age. Their hand was against every man, and especially against their own countrymen. Such was the genesis of that piracy which is universally ascribed to the Northmen of the ninth and tenth centuries.

How the Vikings originated; their piracies.

Let the reader note with care how great results arise out of the simplest antecedents. We have already spoken of the high intelligence and aristocratic character of the early Icelandic people. No wonder that such was the case, for the fugitives from Norway who peopled the island were in a large degree the best of the inhabitants, the richest, the most in-

Great results proceeding from episode of Harald and Gyda.

telligent. They constituted the strong baronial caste, the noble franklins and petty lords of the country, proud and strong, but yet not proud enough and strong enough to compete with Harald Haarfager for the dominion of Norway and the crown of the kingdom. Thus out of the challenge of Gyda to her lover that she would marry him as sovereign of Norway seems to have been—

A FJORD OF NORWAY.

and was—an antecedent of the peculiar intelligence which historians have noted in the Icelandic community of the Middle Ages!

Again, the reader's attention has been called to the fact that the consolidating tendencies by which the universal break-up of the Dark Ages was reduced to order and regularity foreran in Scandinavia the similar movements in all other parts of Europe. The occasion of it would seem to have been the very same challenge of a Norse maiden to her prince lover. "Do this for me," is the language, "and I will wed thee." And he did it. Nor might he himself or the shrewdest observers of his age see how great the act was by which the consolidation of the Norwegian monarchy went before that in all other parts of Europe.

Still, again, the movement which was started of the Norse jarls from their estates in Norway to new homes in Iceland and the more inhospitable character of the latter country led, as we have seen, to still further adventure. All the Northern ocean was traversed by the barks of the sea kings, to whom, after leaving their native land, the shore and the deep were equally inviting. Thus bands of them continued westward until they drifted to the coasts of Greenland and colonized that country. Further on, they set their prows still westward, till the bleak coasts of Labrador, the shores of Newfoundland, and the widening sealine and inlets of Massachusetts and Rhode Island were before them. Here, too, they anchored. Here the old stone tower at Newport still bears witness of their presence. Here the greatest of American poets, in his song of *The Skeleton in Armor*, has sketched for posterity the adventures in the valley of Fall River of an Icelander, who is supposed to have been no other than one of the Vikings of the eleventh

Outgoings of the Norse jarls; their discoveries abroad.

century. All this, too, because the princess Gyda said to her lover, "I marry thee when thou art King of Norway."

The stormy and arbitrary character of Harald Haarfager ended in the oppression, almost the enslavement, of the Norwegian people during his reign. The land-vassalage which had been instituted in Harald's days was given up, and two of the great provinces, Frostathing and Gula-thing, were reorganized with their old laws and boundaries. Hakon had been brought up as a youth at the Court of Athelstan, the Saxon

ARRIVAL OF FIRST NORSE COLONY IN GREENLAND.

accession of his son, Hakon I, however, restored in a considerable degree the liberties of the people. The old-time loyalty came back, and Eric, the rival of Hakon, who had contended with him for the crown, and had actually slain two of the king's brothers, was compelled to leave the country. The government which Harald had established became regular and organic during the reign of his son. In the North, Jarl Sigurd ruled under the king as his vassal. Several of Hakon's kinsmen were left as chief noblemen of the kingdom; but the management of the larger part the king reserved for himself. The

Government of Norway becomes regular under Hakon.

King of Britain, and had there been converted to Christianity. After coming to the Norwegian throne he attempted to introduce his own faith among his subjects. But the people of Norway at this time were extreme in their paganism, and the peace of the kingdom was wellnigh broken up by the projects of the sovereign.

We have spoken of the attempt made by Eric, called Blood-axe, to take the throne of Norway. He had been compelled to flee, and had gone to the Orkneys for safety. But he was an intriguer, and his sons after him. He is said to have been given Northumber-

Adventures of Blood-axe; disturbed reign of Hakon.

land, in England, as his inheritance. For a while he had his capital at York, in Britain. There he perished and was buried. But his sons grew up and upheld the pretensions of their father. The relations between Denmark and Norway also became strained, and the whole reign of Hakon was disturbed with these antagonisms.

It is not our purpose, however, to trace the political history of Norway, but rather to notice the character and progress of the Norwegians themselves. Nature has been exceedingly variable in the formation of coast lines. Sometimes, as on the western extreme of the United States, the ocean lies up lovingly to the beach, in long straight lines, with scarcely an inlet or a bar. In other parts of the world, as in Greece, as along the northeastern coast of the United States, as along the whole shore of Norway, a plan directly the reverse is present in the bearing of the water and the land. If we should say that no shore line in the world is so jagged, so ragged, so eaten into by the water, so contentious with the sea by its reaching out in peninsulas and islands, as that of Norway, all the way around from the fifty-eighth parallel north to almost eighty degrees, the expression would not be strained. The same characteristic is noted in the adjacent islands, such as the Färöes, the Shetlands, and the Orkneys. As we ascend the coast there is a general enlargement of the formation, so that above sixty-eight degrees there is a perpetual series of considerable inlets and projections of land. Indeed, the whole Norwegian coast is a chain of

SCENE IN THE FÄRÖES.—THORSHAVN.

Variableness of nature in formation of coast lines of Norway.

successive havens. Not even the coast of Maine is more indented—or could be—than that which lies out against the sea from Norway, north and south of the arctic circle.

It is this formation which produces the innumerable inlets along the coast called *fjords*. They are generally narrow, bounded by high banks or rocks, and through these the water has in many places made its way, making the peninsula insular. Around the fjord, which is but another name for inlet or bay—albeit the bodies of water so-called are smaller in extent than those which are usually designated as bays and inlets and sounds—are gathered a great part of the Norwegian population. These somewhat sheltered situations are the haunts of the people, and are also the seats of the fishing interests. Without the fjord Norway would be something very different from what she is in the ethnography and history of the world. From this rough and jagged coast, more irregular and indented than any torn edge of tin or battered saw, the country gradually rises into a grazing region. For here, as in some other parts of Scandinavia which we have already described, the flock is the principal thing, while fowling and fishing and other subordinate interests come afterwards. Such is the general situation in which the ethnographer of to-day finds the nearly two millions of people called Norwegians.

Nature of the fjords; means of subsistence.

PASSING A SCHOOL OF WHALES.—Drawn by Jules Noël, after a sketch of Nougaret.

No adequate geographical idea can be had of this country without considering its general shape. Norway is an abnormally elongated piece of territory. The southern portion constitutes the bottom.

Norway a water bottle; atmospheric phenomena.

A CATCH OF DOLPHIN (FÄRÖE ISLANDS).—Drawn by Myrbach, from a photograph.

or bulge, of a bladder-like bottle, with a bent neck reaching from latitude 64° N. to the Varanger Fjord, which enters the top of the neck as if it would fill the whole with sea water. The rivers are short and unimportant, running down quickly to the ocean, like those of Western North America. But there is no lack of water. The air is humid and given to precipitation. The rainfall varies very greatly in different parts of the country and at different seasons. Along the coast, and particularly in the neighborhood of Sogne Fjord, the rainfall is as much as seventy-seven inches per annum. From this it sinks away, through various degrees, until in the southeast of Finmark it is no more than twelve inches during the year. On the whole, the average precipitation is about forty inches. Thunderstorms are common phenomena. In the summertime, on very hot days, when the winds are southwesterly, heavy gales arise, and along the coast the thunder bursts out with fury and the lightning flames over sea and land. Travelers say that these turmoils of the air are unusally destructive in Norway, particularly near the coast, where many public buildings are struck and destroyed annually.

It is also a cloudy land. In Finmark there are three cloudy days to one clear, on the average, the year around, and it is rare to find in any part of the country less than one half of the days obscured with clouds. It is also a land of fogs. These are specially prevalent along the coasts and around the fjords. In the winter season, when the wind is seaward, the fog hangs over the fjords, and is converted into a frostwork which makes the atmosphere resplendent.

A land of cloud and coast fog.

Hardly is any coast in the world richer in its marine inhabitants than that of Norway. Many kinds of fish abound. The common formation of the coast line favors the region as a resort and refuge of fishes. The same may be said of the region as viewed from the land side, with respect to those birds and mammals which prey upon fishes and the marine animals. There are many strange correlations of life exhibited along these shores that might deeply interest the biologist and the philosopher. For instance, the herring is one of the principal fishes. They come up in great shoals to spawn in the shallow waters near the shore. To these situations they are pursued by whales, and there is a contest for life of the one against the other. In like manner, along the coast of Finmark, the capelan are found in shoals that darken the water in springtime. They are pursued to the shallow waters by cod, which capture and swallow immense numbers of the capelan, this being their principal food. Then come the fin whale and the blue whale in pursuit of the cod, upon which they in turn are fattened.

Richness of the country in marine animals and fishes.

The fishermen meanwhile are on the lookout for all of these sources of supply. Sometimes it is to their advantage to take herring, sometimes cod, sometimes capelan, sometimes the whale as inclusive of all. It is not humorous to say that it is a problem in political economy how to gauge these fisheries to the best advantage. Meanwhile, in the waters of the fjords and along the islets of the coast, the spotted seals abound and are taken in great numbers. A short distance from the shore, in the forest, feathered game may be found in abundance, though it is less plentiful at present than formerly. It is doubtful whether in any other country the life of

The fishing industries; abundance of waterfowl.

the people is so closely related with a supply gathered directly from the animal, the fish, and the fowl.

There is one other aspect of the fisheries which may be mentioned with interest. This fact is that the coast of Norway has the deep waters of the ocean against it. The shoals and bars are not extensive, but the angle goes down rapidly to a great depth, except in fjords. This brings close to the coast the great marine animals and deep-sea fishes which are never seen on the shallow sea banks with which other countries are approached. As a rule, it is only a short distance from the Norwegian coast line to a depth of about a hundred and fifty to two hundred fathoms of water. This calls to the very landmark the sharks and whales from which a considerable part of the product of the fisheries is derived. As is well known, the herring and cod are of all species of fish the most valuable and abundant.

BERGEN.

The coast waters favorable to deep-sea animals and fishes.

We have already had occasion to remark upon the distribution of most of the Scandinavians upon small landed estates. This has tended in the countries north of the Baltic to democratize the inhabitants and to prevent them

Forces that have democratized the Norwegians.

from accumulating in large numbers. Norway has a coast line, exclusive of fjords, bays, and islands, of three thousand and eighteen miles. The area of the country is one hundred and twenty-two thousand seven hundred and eighty square miles, the greatest breadth being two hundred and eighty miles. For the most part, the distance from the sea to the line dividing from Sweden is small, being only seventy miles between the sixty-fourth and sixty-eighth parallels north. Within these limits there were at the close of 1882 one million nine hundred and thirteen thousand inhabitants, and of these one million five hundred and nine thousand were resident farmers, leaving only four hundred and four thousand as an aggregate population of all the towns and cities. Of the cities, Christiania had one hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and seven inhabitants; Bergen, forty-three thousand and twenty-six; Throndhjem, twenty-two thousand one hundred and fifty-two; Stavanger, twenty-three thousand five hundred; Drammen, nineteen thousand five hundred and eighty-two; Christiansand, twelve thousand two hundred and eighty-two; Christiansund, nine thousand and twenty-five.

Sparsity of population; a coast people.

It will thus be seen that Norway is the most sparsely populated of all the countries in Europe. There is an average of about eighteen persons to the square mile, while Denmark, across the Skagerrack, has one hundred and thirty-six to the square mile. Seven twentieths of the whole population are accumulated in the country round about Christiania, in a region no more than seven hundredths of the whole area. The density increases gradually from the Swedish border line to the coast. As the traveler recedes from the sea and reaches an elevation of six hundred or seven hundred feet, he finds a country so sparsely peopled as hardly to be worthy the name of inhabited. Nevertheless, the Norwegians are increasing in numbers in their country, notwithstanding the great drain which has been made upon them by emigration. It is said that between 1660 and the beginning of the present century the population rose from three hundred thousand to eight hundred thousand.

Abundance of the Norwegian forest.

We have had occasion in several parts to speak of the scarcity of wood which has been felt in some of the Northern countries. To this, Norway is an exception. In the southern countries it is estimated that nearly twenty-five thousand square miles are still in the native forest. At the time when this estimate was made, namely, 1875, there were but seven hundred and thirty-eight square miles of arable land. The intensity of animal production may be gathered from the census of the same date, at which time there were over one hundred and fifty thousand horses, one million and sixteen thousand cattle, one million six hundred and eighty-six thousand sheep, three hundred and twenty-two thousand goats, one hundred and one thousand pigs, and ninety-six thousand five hundred reindeer. It might be said that Norway is in a state of nature, and that her products are as natural as herself.

Immense product of the fisheries.

The taking of fish constitutes one of the leading pursuits. The estimate of those engaged directly in the fisheries is placed at one hundred and twenty thousand. The aggregate of annual profits is over five millions of dollars. It was estimated that in 1881 twenty-eight million four hundred thousand cod were taken, this only on the coast of Loffoden,

while the fisheries along the Finmark shores yielded about thirteen million additional. In the same year, two million four hundred and twelve thousand bushels of herring were taken, and the mackerel product was estimated at six million one hundred and sixty-five thousand fishes.

One of the most interesting and valuable of all the elements of national and race life is the language of the people. From times immemorial up to the eleventh century a common tongue was spoken by the peoples of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Nor had the language of Iceland at that time been seriously deflected from the common type. It is to the latter tongue that we must look to determine what the original Norse was before it began to expand and develop during the Middle Ages. In that country we have to consider only what may be called natural growth. We have already had occasion to remark upon the small extent to which the Icelandic peoples have been disturbed by foreign influences. With the known laws of human speech, therefore, in our possession, we can reason backward from the present condition of Icelandic to the ancient type which was common to all the Scandinavian countries.

CHURCH AND HOUSE IN NORWAY.

Community of the Scandinavian languages.

With the eleventh century, however, Danish began to take on a form peculiar to itself. It had a development midway between German and Norse. It became more and more a distinctive speech, until the sixteenth century, when its forms may be regarded as established. Swedish sympathized with this movement, but not in full measure. It grew into a type of its own, and its forms and

Danish the original of the Swedish and Norwegian tongues.

vocabulary were fixed midway between Teutonic and the more Norse peculiarities of Norwegian. The latter retained longest of any Continental European speech the forms, vocabulary, and grammar of the Old Norse which had been common to all the Scandinavians. This is to say, that if we begin with High German as the latest and most complete of the Teutonic evolution, we must pass by a series of gradations through Low German into Danish, from Danish to Swedish, from Swedish to Norwegian, and from Norwegian to Icelandic, which last may be taken as the broad expression for the primitive Norse.

Changes in language are very frequently coïncident with political changes. There is always a strain of the upper classes of society toward the governmental, or court, tongue, and when this is changed from one language to another, the upper class of society rapidly affects the new speech. But the same moment which sees the aristocracy of a country taking up the legal and governmental tongue, which has been, perhaps, made supreme by a conquest, that moment marks the falling off of the people from all sympathy with the prevalent language and the beginning of their hostility to it. Such a situation as this was produced in Northwestern Europe by the treaty of Kalmar, at the close of the fourteenth century. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were united in a common government. By this political movement the Danish language gained the ascendency, and was rapidly adopted north of the Skagerrack. This adoption, however, did not cover the dispositions of the people as such. It required from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century to carry the transformation into the country districts and make the Danish language popular. To this day it is a court language, a law language, a school language, in Norway, rather than a folk speech.

Coïncidence of linguistic and political changes.

For a long time the original dialects were maintained, and of these at least three are still preserved with sufficient distinctness to mark their former prevalence. In the north of Norway there is the *Nordenfjeld* dialect, spoken in Trondhjem Fjord and the northern provinces. On the west, along the coast, is the *Vestenfjeld* dialect, particularly prevalent in the Bergen mountains and a

WOMAN OF SOGNE FJORD—TYPE.
Drawn by Pelcoq, from a photograph.

Three dialectical developments of Norwegian.

portion of Christiansand. In Southern Norway, and in those parts of the country east of the mountains, the *Söndenfjeld* dialect prevails. Of these three deviations, or developments, of the ancient speech, the Vestenfjeld group most nearly corresponds with the ancient Norse as represented by Icelandic. Thus again we see the coöperation of geographical and historical forces with the laws of linguistic evolution. Otherwise than as here delineated the Icelandic tongue and the Norwegian are, in common, representing what may be called the youngest form of the truly Scandinavian languages.

It is the Union of Kalmar, moreover, which marks the beginning of Norwegian literature. Up to that epoch whatever sorties her bards and chroniclers had made into the domain of letters had been after the Danish manner. Even after the union of the three crowns the rise of a distinctive Norwegian literature was slow. In 1814 the political independence of Norway was declared, and the national records were henceforth in the forms of the national speech. Three years before this event the University of Christiania had been established, and the popular language was substituted for the Danish in instruction. Soon after a group of writers arose who treated economic, legal, and philosophical subjects from a national point of view, employing the national language in the exposition of their various themes. The *Eddas* were published in Norwegian, and the nation became proud of its achievement and of its rank among the intellectual peoples of Northern Europe. A measure of this literary pride remains to the present day.

Norwegian literature dates from Union of Kalmar.

CHAPTER XCIII.—THE SWEDES.

WE now turn to the remaining peninsular Scandinavian people —the Swedes. In the earliest ages with which we are acquainted there were two distinctive branches of the Swedish race, the Southern Göta, or Goths, and the Northern Svea, or Swedes. The ethnic nomenclature is still preserved, the southern portion of Sweden being called Gothland, the central portion Svedaland, the north central Norrland, while the extreme north is called Lapland. We have already seen, in the general survey of the progress of the Teutonic race into this region, that the Lapps and Finns fell back before the Germanic van. The Göta and the Svea were both Teutonic, being discriminated but little from each other in those prehistoric times at which they were first known to the peoples of Southern Europe. The Lapps and the Finns had fallen back to the extreme north of the country, leaving behind them archæological vestiges and traces in the geological names of the country. They were the Swedish Indians, receding before the advance of a powerful conquering race.

Primitive distribution and nomenclature of the Swedes.

The institutions and manners of the Goths and the Swedes in this country were very nearly identical with those of the German race on the south of the Baltic. In our account of the Goths, and

Curious race problem in the dispersion of the Goths.

the position which they occupied on their first contact with the Romans, we have discussed the question of their Northern origin. It is one of the few instances in which the laws of right reason and of the data in our possession do not seem to coïncide. The laws of right reason would not lead us to expect the return of the Goths out of the south of Sweden and their transmigration across a considerable portion of Europe to reach their historical seats on the Danube. Yet the facts seem to warrant such a hypothesis; and it would appear probable that the Mœso-Gothic nation of the fourth and fifth centuries, gathered in its stronghold in the dipper of the Danube, was derived by migration from an original Gothland on *both* sides of the Baltic.

STOCKHOLM.

In the earliest times at which we are acquainted with the Northern Goths, we find them under the government of petty kings. The reader should be reminded that a "king" in the barbarian sense of the word corresponds to no fact with which we are acquainted in the political structure of the modern world. He was sometimes merely a petty lord, one of

the smaa-kongar of whom we have already spoken, a mere chieftain, whose influence on the general course of affairs, even among his own people, was so slight as to be almost neglected. Sometimes the king rose toward the region of monarchy as that institution is understood in our ages. At the earliest times to which our acquaintance extends in Sweden there was a King of Upsala, who was a kind of over-sovereign to the smaa-kongar. It is thought that his superiority might be traced to the fact that Upsala was the center of the worship of Wodin, and that the great temple of that city stood as the representative of the religion of the race. In this connection we should remember that Wodin, in the Norse sense, was a demigod, a sort of ancestral hero as well as one of the deities immortal. Upsala was a Swedish city; that is, a city of the Svea as distinguished from the Göta. At a very early age, no doubt, both of these peoples had descended from a common stock. They had common traditions, and the Göta as well as the Svea were bound to the common worship, the Swedish center of which was at Upsala.

Character of Gothic king; Upsala seat of Wodin.

At our earliest acquaintance with the races inhabiting Sweden we find the Goths the most enterprising and active. Their most populous districts were on the borders of the Baltic and among the islands, the principal of which is to the present day known as Gothland. They had the same social organization as most of the other primitive Teutonic races. There were freemen and thralls, or serfs. It is believed, however, that serfdom was a less important consideration in the life of ancient Sweden than in some other of the Scandinavian countries. The name given to the free class was *Jarls*, and to the serf class *Bondar*, names corresponding on the one hand to the Anglo-Saxon *Eorls* and English *Earls*, and on the other to the Anglo-Saxon *Ceorls*, or modern *Churls*. In Sweden the bondar were of a higher class than in most other Teutonic countries. They were

Condition and classes of the primitive Swedish Goths.

SCENE IN GOTHLAND.

generally landed freemen, the distinction between them and the jarls being in this country rather a distinction of blood than of property. But the jarls were landlords in a wider sense, while the bondar had only small homesteads.

Theory of the kingship; rights of the Great Thing.

The Swedish kings, in addition to being jarls of a large growth, had also, according to public estimation, something of the divine in them. They were reckoned as the descendants of the demigods. It is instructive, possibly amusing, to see the devices which the human mind adopts in dealing with such questions. The Danish kings were thought to be of divine descent. Nevertheless, the jarls placed many restrictions upon them, and treated them as anything else than absolute beings. Though the divine descent was recognized, it did not follow that the king's son should be the king unless he were elected by the Great Thing. The Great Thing was the National Congress, to which all freemen were admitted as members. There were many local Things, corresponding to the legislative bodies which the people of Anglo-Saxon descent have adopted.

SWEDISH JARL—TYPE.

Powers of local assemblies; conflicts in society.

The business of the local assemblies in Sweden, however, was rather judicial than legislative. The division of the population into jarls and bondar gave rise—more particularly since both classes were landowners—to an infinity of disputes. The freemen were in a conflict of rights with the bondar, and judgments must be constantly enforced by additional measures. Such causes were brought before the local Things and adjusted. In many causes, however, this was only to postpone the actual settlement of the question, for neither party would yield to the decision. An appeal now lay to the king, and his right of deciding put both parties into subjection. It became the custom for the king to go around the country in regular progress, enforcing justice among his subjects, much after the fashion which Barbarosa and other mediæval kings of the personal type were wont to do. It was a process tending, naturally, first to the reduction, and afterwards to the extinction, of the smaa-kongar. The Upsala kings were glad enough to be rid of these, and to frame a system that should be more closely allied with the royal court.

How the Scandinavian monarchy became strong.

It was in this manner that the institution of monarchy grew rapidly in all the Scandinavian countries. Many of the leading jarls and smaa-kongar sought to associate themselves with the kings of Upsala. In so doing they acted after the manner of men. They wished to be strong by attaching themselves to a

stronger. Moreover, the Great Thing continued its functions and assumed others. It became more and more the parliamentary assembly of all Sweden. Its primitive character gave place to regular political methods, and in the midst of it the rights of freemen were acknowledged as against the rights of the smaa-kongar.

Interesting in the highest degree is the old *Ynglinga Saga*, which contains the first expressions of Swedish self-consciousness, the first formal ideas of the nation respecting itself. According to this venerable legend the first kings of Upsala were the Ynglingar, whose fountain head was called Yngve Frey, and he was the grandson of Wodin. This brings the dynasty of the gods and the dynasty of men into closer union than the mythologists have usually been willing to venture on. But we must remember that Wodin was only semi-divine, the other half being human-heroic. Thus was bridged the chasm between the things on high and the things of this Middle Earth.

Myth and tradition of the Ynglinga Saga.

In the earliest days Sweden appears by no means to have been so widely extended a country as at present. Its widest, most fruitful, and richest region was Scania, a Gothic state which had vibrated in its political attachment between Sweden and Denmark. To the latter country, in the ninth century, it was annexed by King Gunthrun. It appears, however, that the annexation was never accepted as valid, at least not in whole. For hardly a half century passed without some disturbance between Denmark and Sweden, in which the validity of the Scanian dependency

The Scanians vibrate between the Swedes and the Danes.

VIEW IN UPSAL.

SWEDISH INDUSTRIES.—Dredging for Lake Iron Ore.

on the former power was challenged by the latter. This continued until the seventeenth century, when Scania was severed from Denmark and left in connection with Sweden.

Rank and race connections of the Swedes.

The extent of the Swedish territory is such as to give the kingdom rank as one of the great powers of Europe. The same might almost be said of the population, which, at the end of 1885, was estimated at four million six hundred and eighty-three thousand. The race is almost entirely of immediate Scandinavian and ultimate Teutonic derivation. To this the principal exception is in the case of the Finns, who, in 1880, were estimated at seventeen thousand. The Lapps were thought at the same time to number between six and seven thousand. The Finnish territory is in the northeastern part of Sweden, including the country of Norrbotten, while the Lapps occupy a territory of about forty-four thousand square miles, lying in what is called Lapland and Jemtland.

Means of subsistence; the mining industries.

In Sweden the means of subsistence are derived from the country by methods very different from those of Norway and Iceland. Swedish industry is devoted most largely to agricultural pursuits. Much more than one half of the whole population are so engaged. The harvest of 1884 had an estimated value of one hundred and twenty-five million dollars. The native resources of the country have hardly begun to be developed. The mines are rich. Iron ores abound, and the quality is perhaps as good as that in any other mineral region of the world. The copper mines and silver mines and coal pits are productive in the highest degree, while a large part of Sweden is still covered with the native forest, rich and varied.

Rural character of the Swedes; city populations.

As in Norway, the population is for the most part distributed in the countryside. The average for the whole country is twenty-eight to the square mile. According to the estimates for 1884, the city population amounted to an aggregate of only seven hundred and seventy-seven thousand, against a rural total of three million eight hundred and sixty-seven thousand. Stockholm has two hundred and sixteen thousand inhabitants. There are only five other cities of note in the country: Gothenburg, with a population of ninety-one thousand; Malmö, with forty-four thousand five hundred; Norrkjöping, with twenty-eight thousand five hundred; Gefle, with twenty thousand seven hundred and fifty; and Upsal, with twenty thousand two hundred and two.

Means of improving intellectual condition; education.

Most of the methods by which the intellectual condition of mankind is improved have been introduced into Scandinavia. This is true of Sweden as of Norway, but not so true as of Denmark and Iceland. Nevertheless, the position of Sweden, educationally considered, is prominent. The primary education is compulsory upon all the children, both of the jarl and the bondar. It is alleged that in 1884 there were only about fifteen thousand children in all Sweden who were not under school training. The higher public schools are ninety-six in number, and have an attendance of nearly fifteen thousand. The University of Upsal has over one thousand eight hundred students, and that of Lund between eight hundred and nine hundred. Stockholm is noted for its medical faculty and its institution of surgery. In fact, in all grades of instruction, whether common, special, or

professional, the Swedes have reached up to the higher plane, and are distinguishing themselves among all modern peoples. At the American Centennial Exposition, in 1876, a Swedish primary school was set up, with all the home appliances and illustrations of method, to the delight of the millions who were gathered in Fairmount Park.

Paganism gave way in Sweden between the ninth and the twelfth century. The doctrines of the Reformed Church were introduced and accepted in the reign of Gustavus Vasa. The national church is thus Lutheran, its character having been established in the year 1593. The country is divided into twelve bishoprics. Upsal has the primacy, the archbishop of that diocese being the primate of all Sweden. Sectarianism has never made much progress in the countries north of the Baltic. The most numerous dissenters from the Protestant faith are the Baptists, of whom in 1880 there were over fourteen thousand. Strangely enough, the next branch of nonconformists to the national religion are the Jews, who in the year just referred to numbered nearly three thousand. The census of 1880 showed only eight hundred and ten Roman Catholics in all Sweden!

Sweeping victory of Protestantism among the Swedes.

The constitution of Sweden is limited in its powers and its object. It is what is called, from its English analogy, a historical development; that is, it rests on an evolution which extends through several centuries. One clause, for instance, may fit up against another clause different in origin by six centuries of growth. As to the origin of the government, its fundamental principles and prerogatives, there has been among the Swedes that same astonishing contradiction which we see in all the English-speaking peoples—a theory of one kind and a practice of another. There can be but two sources from which the fact called civil government may be derived: first, from a human origin; secondly, from a divine. The ancient nations were nearly all at one on the subject. They said that governments, however vile and weak, were derived from the gods or from God, and should be looked upon with the same deference which appertains to all other God-given facts among mankind. Nobody durst challenge such an institution. To do so were to be sacrilegious, blasphemous. On the other hand, it began to be said that governments were not divine, but human, institutions; made by men for themselves; that they were "of the people, for the people, by the people"—to use the form in which the great theme was expressed by one of the greatest of American Presidents.

The Swedish constitution a historical development.

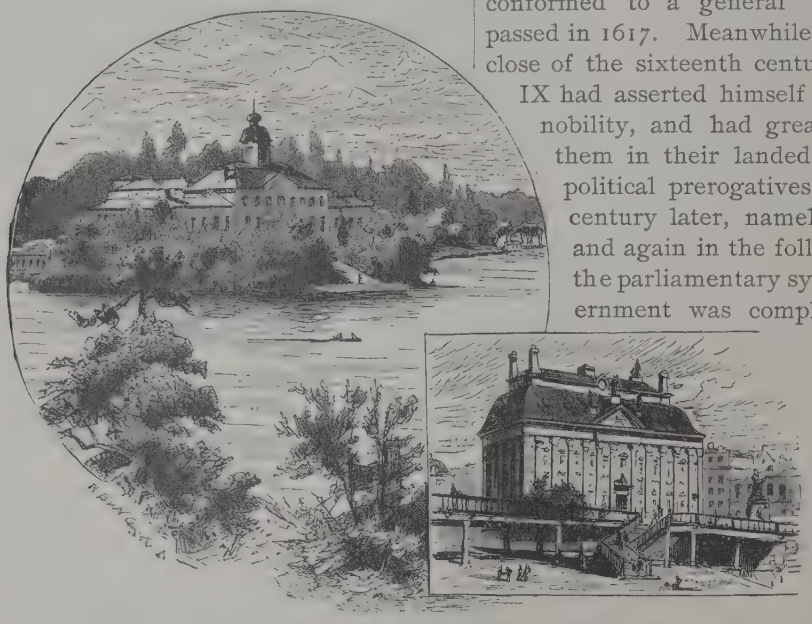
This latter form of theory and practice pleased the democratic instincts of the people—and nearly all the Teutonic races had this instinct in large measure—but the former theory was more pleasing to the governing classes, to the aristocracy, and especially to the priesthood. The result of this diverse manner of viewing the case has been that those who have done the governing have chosen to regard themselves as divinely appointed, for the reason that they could in that case interpret the terms of their own commissions and become absolute, while in the other case they were constrained to ask the people at intervals what their thought was as to how the government ought to be conducted—a thing, as a rule, very odious to a government in any form.

Conflict of democracy and aristocracy in government.

Meanwhile, those in noble station in

the state have various interests involved in the question. Some of them break with the king, the occasion being his disposition to depress them, to lessen their influence. Others side with him, believing that to be the better way to maintain their own rank and power. The people also, as a rule, divide for and against the king; for and against the nobility. The situation is such as to give the monarch an opportunity to break with either party, and to array the other against it. The general movement by which Europe was brought out of the feudal into the monarchical state, in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, was of this kind. A king stronger than the rest would arise and suppress the nobility, at the same time extending his own rights. Yet the nobility were not extinguished or the king's prerogatives so widened as to make him absolute.

How kings play off the counter interests of their subjects.



OLD SWEDISH NOBILITY—ROSENDAL CASTLE AND KNIGHTS' HOUSE AT REDDARHOLM.

In Sweden the struggle between the kings and the nobles took place at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the reigns of Gustavus Vasa and his son Charles IX. But the struggle for the rights of the people as one of the forces in the government, having its expression in the Riksdag, was continued for a longer period. The law in accordance with which this Swedish parliament was for the first time legally regulated and conformed to a general system was passed in 1617. Meanwhile, during the close of the sixteenth century, Charles IX had asserted himself against the nobility, and had greatly reduced them in their landed rights and political prerogatives. About a century later, namely, in 1719, and again in the following year, the parliamentary system of government was completed in its powers. The despotic system of government was abolished, and the real government of the people was put into the hands of the Riksdag.

Struggle of the Swedish kings with the nobility.

To this popular body was given the function of appointing and dismissing the Councilors of State, so that the administration of affairs was wellnigh complete in the parliamentary body. It can not be said that during the greater part of the eighteenth century the constitutional system adopted by the Swedes displayed a strong front to the nations of the North. The Riksdag might be

Place of the Riksdag in the governmental system.

truthfully charged with many times selling itself to foreign states, without much regard to the interests of Sweden. This condition of affairs was broken up by a revolution in 1772, when Gustavus III reclaimed for the crown much of its former power and dignity. This movement was in the nature of a reaction against the democratic government which had prevailed before, and like most revolutions it ran an extravagant course, until Gustavus IV was almost as absolute as any king in Europe. This led to another revolution and dethronement of the king. Sweden was half sympathetic with all the storms that prevailed in Central Europe during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and her constitutional conflicts moved as if in pace with those of the great states in the center and the west. The effort to make a new constitutional system was in a measure successful. The movement reached a climax on the 6th of June, 1809.

GUSTAVUS VASA—A ROYAL TYPE.

The political system which now confronts the inquirer in Sweden gives the whole executive power to the king. The legislative power is divided between the king and the Riksdag. This means that either the king or the Riksdag may take the initiative in making a new law, and either he or that body may veto the action of the other. The laws relating to certain branches of economic matters are wholly of the Riksdag; but in such matters as diminishing the customs duties the king may exercise authority independently of the parliament. He may declare war or make peace, and is in virtue of his office commander in

Supremacy of the king; his irresponsibility.

chief of the military power of the kingdom. The king is irresponsible. So far as responsibility may be defined in legal form, he is free. Still, he is required to declare his decrees in the presence of responsible councilors, called the Statsrad.

The Council of State and departments of administration.

The Swedish Council of State is composed of ten members, of whom the first seven stand at the head of the departments, as in the manner of France, the United States, and Great Britain. These seven ministers are named from their respective branches of service; that is, Justice, Foreign Affairs, Army, Navy, Internal Affairs, Finance, and Educational Affairs. The latter department has under its jurisdiction the schools of both the state and the Church. These councilors are held to a strict responsibility for the advice which they are supposed to give to the king, and for the course of the administration which they are supposed to direct. They must report to the Riksdag, which may alter the record, thus passing a rebuke on the action of the councilor for maladministration.

Constitution of the Riksdag; property qualifications.

It is the usage in Sweden that the Riksdag meets every year, on the 15th of January. It consists of two Houses. In the first, that is, the House of Representatives, there is one member to every thirty thousand of the inhabitants; at present, one hundred and forty-three members in all. These representatives are chosen by the Landsting, or common assemblies in the counties, or by the municipal councilors in the larger towns. They serve for a period of nine years, and the distinction which the office gives is the only reward. After the British pattern, no salary is paid for service in the House of Commons. Any Swede is eligible under a single property qualification. Any one who is thirty-five years of age and has possessed for three years before the election a real property of the value of eight thousand crowns, or who during the same period has paid taxes annually on the sum of four thousand crowns may be elected to the Riksdag.

Senate and judiciary; right of suffrage.

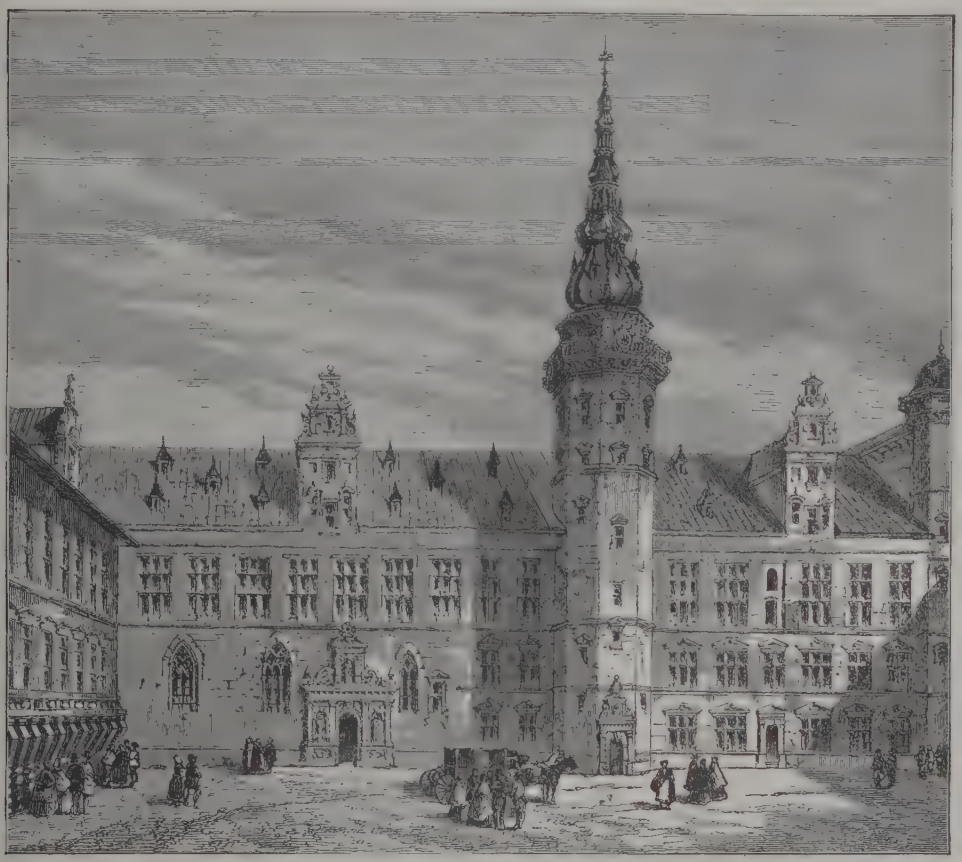
The members of the Second House receive a salary of twelve hundred crowns, and are elected for a period of three years, by electors, or in some cases directly, according to the form in the given electoral district. Sweden is divided into districts of judicature, and each district is entitled to one member of the Second House of the Riksdag if its population does not exceed forty thousand souls, and also to one for every municipality of ten thousand inhabitants. As to the franchise, every Swede who owns land to the value of a thousand crowns, or who has farmed for five years lands worth six thousand crowns, or who pays taxes on an annual income of eight hundred crowns, is an elector.

In general, the rule is that every elector is eligible to all elective offices. About six and five tenths per cent of the whole population vote at the elections. The Swedish theory is that both Houses in the Riksdag have equal power. Before bills are discussed they are prepared by boards whose members are half drawn from one House and half from the other. When it chances that on questions of expenditure the two Houses are not likely to favor the same measures, or to oppose the same, the committee that frames the bills for the action of the body is constituted by the vote of both Houses jointly, so that the preponderant majority in this case furnishes the char-

acter of the committee, and gives an advantage to that majority in the administration of the government.

In what we call the administration of the government, each of the twenty-four counties into which Sweden is divided has a governor, called the Landshöfding. To him is assigned the presidency of the local offices within the given county. He is assisted by such officers as the administration may demand. There is, besides, a standing representative of each county, elected by the people of the same, who is a member of the Landsting, or Assembly. Before this body are brought all questions concerning the county only, such as the right to levy and collect taxes, division into parishes, the administration of government in these, etc. The law under which such matters are determined dates back to 1736, but between that date and 1864 many changes and additions were made, giving new character to the code.

Duties of the Landshöfding; powers of the Landsting.



COURT OF KRONOBERG CASTLE.

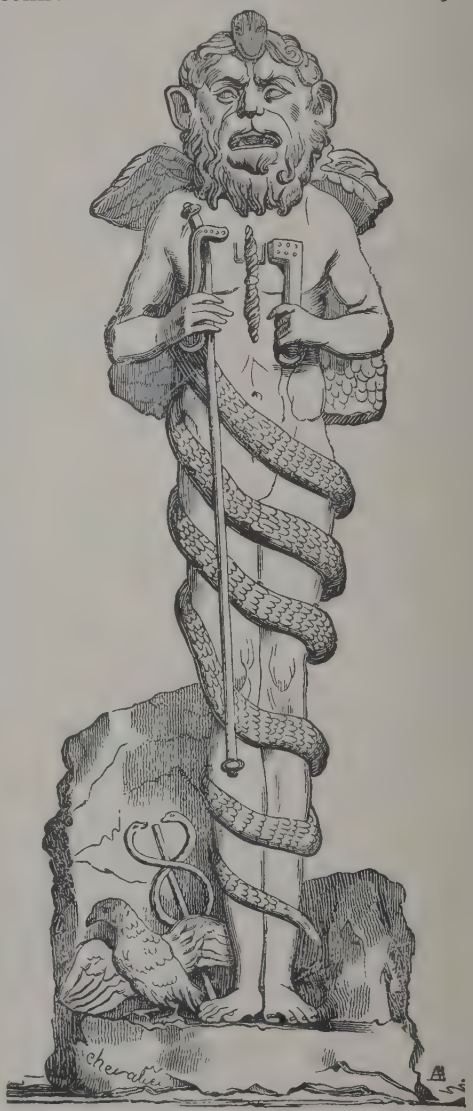
In the administration of justice there are three kinds of tribunals, having each its own peculiarities. First, there is the court called Häradsrätter, being a county court, consisting of one judge and from seven to twelve assessors, or what the primitive jurisprudence of the United

Organization of Swedish inferior courts; the Supreme Court.

States would call associate judges, having their election from the people. Their power when occupying the bench with the judge is negative rather than positive. If they vote unanimously in any way against his judgment, his decision is thereby annulled. The second courts are the higher courts, which were found necessary in the great cities of Stockholm, Jönköping, and Christianstad. Each of these consists of three hofrätter, or judges. Its nature is that of a superior municipal court, both for civil and criminal causes. Sweden has a Supreme Court, consisting of three royal judges, two of whom must always be present in the Council of State if law questions are before that body. The rest of the duty of this court is to pass sentence in the name of the king, and to be a final court of appeal for all questions in rehearing. All proposed changes of the law have to pass the ordeal of this court. It will be noted by the critical reader that the jury is an unknown quantity in the jurisprudence of Sweden. The only case in which the jury of the vicinage is called in a Swedish cause is a question involving the liberty of the press the right to speak and publish.

We have seen by what an informal sort of movement the Swedes passed, at an early date, from the open profession of paganism to the open profession of Christianity. But the profession of the latter faith did not, by any means, satisfy the more zealous, especially the missionaries who came into Sweden and found there nothing like the religious life with which they had been acquainted in other countries. During the reign of Swerker Karlsson, that is, from 1135 to 1155, that monarch was constant in his petitions to the popes of Rome to give to the Swedes bishops and episcopal establishments like those in continental countries. He asked for a Swedish primate also, which measure would bring his people in close connection with Rome. It was in carrying out these negotiations that Nicholas Breakspeare, of whom we have already spoken as the only English prelate who ever reached the papacy, was employed. Breakspeare found, however, that the

Efforts of the Swedes to gain recognition of Rome.



OLD SWEDISH PAGANISM—A SCANDINAVIAN GOD.

Swedes and the Goths were ethnically disagreed as to the place for the Holy See, and in a synod at Linköping, in 1152, it was decided that the Swedish clergy should accept the law of celibacy, and that Sweden should bear an annual tax in favor of the pope. Such was the bid which the Swedish nation laid on the altar to secure the primacy at Upsala.

In these Middle Ages of Swedish history we may quickly discover the struggle of the two forces of heredity and election. There seems to be among the people of the Teutonic race a diversity of instinct relative to the method of choosing their public officers. The inference appears natural enough that the capacity of a great king will be transmitted by birth and the laws of descent to his offspring. Moreover, the education of the prince at the court, his being in contact with his father's work, and the visible demonstration of what his father does are likely to affect in large measure the formation of his character. But some other laws of nature are against the conclusions thus drawn; namely, in the first place, that as a rule genius is not transmitted; secondly, that greatness of character is generally born in out-of-the-way and unexpected corners of the world; thirdly, as has been noticed in a majority of the instances in which the rule has been applied, that the king chosen on the hereditary principle is not well chosen. It is doubtful, indeed, whether the principle of hereditary descent, as it is practiced in our times, could be maintained at all, so far as rights are concerned, if it were not that it is so closely combined with the principle of property. By blending political and property rights a powerful system has been instituted among civilized nations, tending to hereditary rights as it respects civil prerogative, and also as it respects property.

Heredity and election; the former upheld by property.

The history of Sweden shows an evident trace of the conflict between election and birthright. When Swerker was slain, in 1155, the Goths of Southern Sweden wished to make his son king, in virtue of hereditary right; but the Swedes chose Eric Edwardsson, who reigned until 1160. The Swedes thought that their effort at election was so great a success that Eric should be canonized. It was by him that Upsala had been made the city of the primacy. He it was who began the movements which led to the annexation of Finland to Sweden. For a long time the Finns had been on a plane but a little above actual piracy. The northern coasts of Sweden had suffered extremely from the marine robberies and invasions of the Finnish warriors, who knew no law but rapine. The union of Finland with Sweden was a measure beset with troubles, prejudices, dangers; but Eric was successful in the complication, drawing the Finns into a union with the Swedes, and doing thereafter as much as he might to have them converted to Christianity.

Historical vicissitudes of the Swedes in Middle Ages.

Along the south line, which divided the Swedes from the Goths, there was, from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century, almost constant warfare, each people choosing its own king. It was an ethnic controversy. The Göta had a loyalty for the descendants of Swerker, while the Swedes preferred the House of Eric. The latter were known as the yeomen kings, for the reason that Eric had himself originally belonged to the bondar. This gave him the great popularity which was transmitted by tradition. He was the bondar king, therefore close to the people. The

Struggle of the bondar element with the Swerkers.

EN ROUTE TO LAPLAND—SWEDE AND FINN TYPES.—Drawn by Myrbach, from a photograph.

kings who were members of the Swerker dynasty continued to reign until 1222, while the rival House of Eric was preserved until the death of Eric the Halt, in 1250. Then it was that the crown of the country was given to Waldemar, whose mother was a sister to King Eric.

Kingship and self-government among the Teutonic races.

We may now see illustrated on a wide scale a general fact in the civil history of the Teutonic nations. This is the preference of the race for a powerful executive, generally in the form and under the name of king, with the reservation, under the unity thus afforded, of local self-government to the various parts. Such a principle may be said to be a summary of the constitutional history of the Teutonic nations. In the choice of this great executive head by the two principles to which we have just referred, namely, heredity and election, there has been much diversity, but on the whole the hereditary principle has prevailed, and the elective system as applied to kings of this race is exceptional, not the law. Even where the form of election has been preserved, as in the case of Germany, we may readily see that the institutional growth has been in the direction of hereditary descent.

Heredity determines the prince; union of Scandinavia.

The German empire has, in our own days, with the concurrence of the Germanic race, adopted the fact and principle of heredity, not only as it respects the descent of the Prussian crown in the House of Hohenzollern, but also as it respects the descent of the imperial crown in the same line. The form of the election is retained, but not its spirit and vitality. We have already seen that in the Union of Kalmar, at the close of the fourteenth century, this was the real thing accomplished. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were brought into unity as it respected the executive head, the king, while each retained its legislative, or parliamentary, independence. We have seen how far into modern times the parliamentary freedom of Scotland has been maintained, though she has now been one with England and Ireland for nearly three hundred years.

Reasons for contradictory methods of the Teutonic races.

Nor are the reasons for this fact of the jealous preservation of local self-government, with the absoluteness and far-reaching prerogatives of monarchy, far to seek. The Teutonic race has shared in a large measure the passion for spectacular greatness. It takes delight in that form of human character which sounds and roars and gives back an echo when struck with a spearhead. It would even accept a wooden horse, as it has always been willing to do, provided the same presented itself as an effigy divine or an explanation of a mystery. But the Teutonic peoples have learned that government is a small affair, and a very limited affair—that it is best attended to when the neighbors get together and do it. This is to say, that they have learned how salutary is that kind of law which is the crystal form of a usage that has become authoritative by long and unvaried custom.

Thus the peoples of this race have agreed, even though it may expose them to philosophical ridicule, to maintain the mediæval sovereign, with his absurd pretensions and Chinese flappers, in order that they may have a Divine Big Man for their ruler! But at the same time they have insisted with singular pertinacity in placing human government in the hands of the Commons. These facts we may see well illustrated in the history of Sweden and Norway. There was for centuries together an entire

willingness of the two peoples to be united under a common king, but even at the beginning there was a practical government of the people, meeting each part to itself, to consider what things were best as rules of conduct and administration.

Nor may we pass this point without observing how large a figure these two principles of hereditary and elective right cut in, at least, the spectacular parts of human government. It is not so much because Ireland has remained Celtic as because she has not remained Celtic that in our own day the clamor has arisen, of which we hear the echoing in all the treetops, that she be free to manage her home affairs under a home administration. It is precisely what the English-speaking race has been doing for itself in other parts of the domain. It is the substitution of the confederate for the imperial plan of government. The imperial plan has never been able to flourish where the Teutonic speech has been spoken. It has only *seemed* to flourish even in Russia. If we look at Ireland, we find that the race ideas of the English family have penetrated the country and have raised the very questions which will now be answered. One can but wonder at the folly of those statesmen who, claiming the name of such, would put off and palliate, would parry and even deny the great issue which rises from the side of Ireland; rises of itself, born not of the flesh, but of the spirit, and crying back across the Irish sea the very thing which the mother country herself has, in her oral utterances, her dreams and tangible practices, been crying out for centuries, namely, the right of local government under a general system of administration.

Race ideas interpenetrate national institutions.

We have already used the fact of language more than once in demonstration of the race division of Northern Teutonic peoples. Should we look in on the nations of the Baltic at the epoch of Charlemagne or Alfred, we should find that they are all of a Teutonic origin; that there are two branches of the family, a Germanic and a Scandinavian; that the German branch is Ingavonian German and that the Scandinavian branch spreads through all Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland. These were the Scandinavian countries up to the coming of the eleventh century. Denmark was in all of its earliest stages of development associated with Iceland and Norway. The common language thus used by all the tribes of the Baltic peninsulas and as far out as Iceland was Old Norse. True, a linguistic differentiation had already taken place, and the Norse dialects were plainly parting company for the formation of languages that were to be; but the Danish was not, until the eleventh century, more widely deflected from the Norse standard than were the rest. It was thus out of a Norse stem that the Swedish language of to-day was developed. It appears, however, that the change was exceedingly slow. It is alleged that the oldest sagas of the Swedes were still understood at the court of Upsal as late as the fourteenth century.

Distribution of Teutonic language; Swedish appears.

While the character of the Swedish language was thus in process of determination by internal forces and characteristics, it was also pressed to a considerable degree by foreign influences. The introduction of Protestantism among European nations did as much by indirection as by direction in changing the

Language determined by growth and foreign influence.

course of the intellectual, moral, and physical currents of modern Europe. Take, for instance, the simple question of commerce, of trade. As a general thing the commercial relations between the German towns and cities on the one side, and those of the Latin races on the other, were broken off at the epoch of the Reformation. Europe was divided into a Catholic and a Protestant

affected the growth and development of the Swedish language. It became the most German of any of the Scandinavian tongues. From the first, that is, from the day far off, when the difference between it and Old German was only dialectical, it had departed less from the common type than had Danish or Norwegian.

We have here again precisely the

COMMERCE OF THE BALTIC—HARBOR OF STOCKHOLM.

movement. Hitherto the trade of these Baltic states, for instance, had been, particularly after the substitution of Christianity for paganism, carried on with the Roman emporiums of the Mediterranean and of the Western coasts of the continent, but the coming of Protestantism drew tight the cords between the Scandinavian and the South Baltic Germans. Now all of these facts

same problem which confronts the naturalist in dealing with the animals and plants that inhabit the surface of our globe. They are divided into species and genera. But what do species and genera mean? These terms have respect to certain well-marked deviations of organism and certain variant functions. As, for example, the dog barks,

Striking analogies of language to facts in natural history.

lolls out his tongue when thirsty, follows a trail by scent. The manifestations of the desires and passions in the calf are wholly different, and those of the pig are different from the latter. There are thus found streaming across the landscape of animal life certain radiating lines that are unoccupied, certain spaces that seem to be devoid of any form, while well-marked forms are seen on either hand. The objector sees in these chasms the evidences of different originals, and asks boastingly, looking first to one side and then to the other side of the vacant band: "Where are the intermediate links, where the forms which have filled up this space, marking the slight departures between the living creatures on the two sides of the chasm?"

One has only to look intently at the question to discover the answer. No such intermediate forms of life *could exist*. If they had ever existed they would have perished. Take, for instance, the question of locomotion. The three general means of propelling an animal body are by feet, by wings, or by fins. What possible use could there be for something intermediate between a foot and a fin? What use could it subserve? Is there any arena in which an organ half foot and half fin would be of advantage to its possessor? Is there any other region where an organ half foot and half wing could be found useful in the struggle for life? Is it not at once apparent that a demand for the missing links in the scheme of universal nature is a demand for something which could never be, at least could never successfully be? Considering the nature of the world, we may easily perceive that there are only a few general schemes of organization that can succeed. Nature is not so given to folly that she must needs spend her energies in making experiments, known by herself beforehand to be useless, simply to fill up gaps in the museums of philosophers who could not otherwise discover the universal regularity of the natural world!

The quest for impossible intermediate forms in nature.

It is thus that all the vital phenomena with which we are acquainted flow in bands, divided from each other by spaces of vacuity. It is so among the worlds on high. We have there interplanetary spaces where no life is; and again, planetary spaces which are rich in organic development. It is not that intermediary forms of life never were in the spaces now unoccupied. The organic forms that now compose the vital expression of being on the earth have passed across those spaces in their way to the bands of organic evolution. The worlds have grown in the belts which they now occupy. Man has grown in the belts which he occupies, and what is of particular interest to us here, languages have grown in the belts which they occupy. We have in certain cases the gradings off by which one linguistic plant is discriminated from another, but generally the intermediary stages have left not even fossils behind them. It was not found advantageous, desirable, easy, to grow linguistically into a form which had two other forms, one on either hand, so nearly analogous to that which it proposed to assume as to make its own endeavor superogatory.

Vital phenomena parted in bands, with spaces of vacuity.

There are no missing links in language, as there are no missing links among living creatures. But while we say this, we must remember that there are occasional forms still surviving in the world of life which typify the stage of transition by which animals and plants have passed through or passed up from the

No missing links in language; anomalous animal forms.

SWEDISH FAMILY SCENE.—The Grandfather's Blessing.—From a painting by Tiedeman.

lower to the higher plane of existence. Such, for instance, are those minute marine animals called *Sepia officinalis*, which make their progress, even at rapid speed, through the water by throwing a jet backward, a manner of propulsion which could certainly not be classified with fin work, or with wings or feet. It is an exceptional case, wherein, under limited circumstances, peculiar forms of

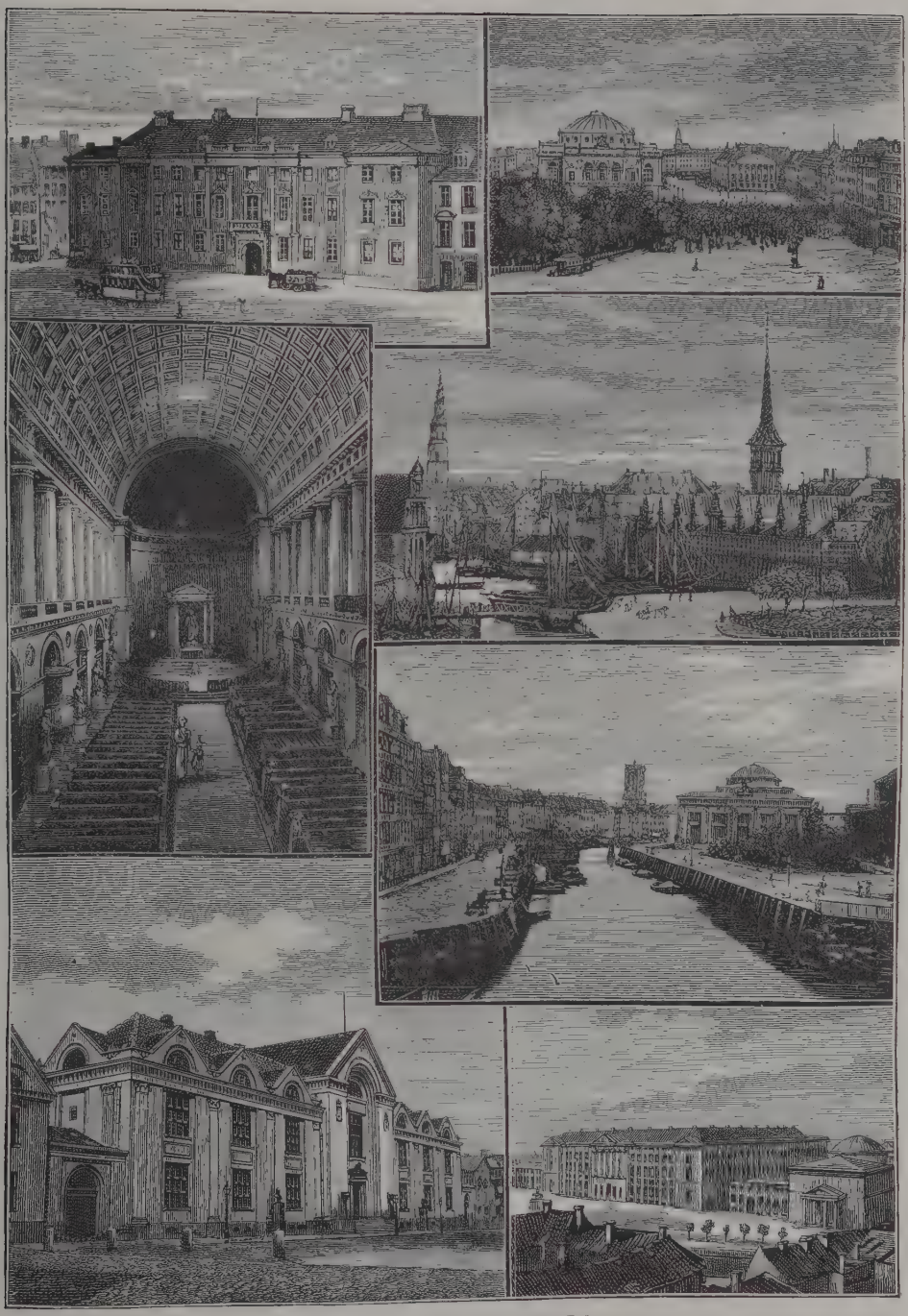
locomotion have been found to be advantageous and have been retained. Or again, the flying fish has a modified apparatus for moving along or just above the surface of the water. It is a fin and wing contrivance, having in it the elements of both. But for other reasons such a contrivance was only advantageous to a limited number of creatures. We might also cite the flying squirrels as an intermediary form between the winged and unwinged animals. The sheet of the bat and the flying squirrel is a compound of wing and foot, but the existence and development of such an organ is hampered by the conditions of atmospheric environment to the extent of preventing its extensive employment as a means of locomotion. Now, in the world of language we have the like occasional specimens, we may say, that have survived *in the intermediary regions*, and that still express in tolerable form the missing link.

All this has been suggested by the re-

SWEDISH FUNERAL.—From a painting by Basil Peroff.

lations of Swedish to German on the one side, and Scandinavian, or Norse, on the other. Swedish lies too close to German to permit of an intermediary form; that is, of any useful form advantageous to the intercourse of men over and above those already possessed. On the other side, the difference between Swedish

Place of Swedish in relation with Norse and German.



UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN.

and Norse—by which we mean the Norse of Iceland—is not so great as to permit the interposition of languages between the two bands of their development. There was a time, as we have said, when the whole difference between the Germanic and the Norse branches of the Teutonic languages might have been regarded as dialectical, but the departure grew greater, the space of vacuity between the one and the other grew wider and deeper, until each assumed a final fixedness, constituting distinctive features that might not be confounded the one with the other. Then in like manner the German tongues began to divide and did divide to a certain degree. The Low German departed from the Old High German. Then the various Scandinavian languages—including up to the eleventh century the speech of Denmark, of Sweden, of Norway, and Iceland—began the same process of divergence, until one dialect stronger, more cogent than the rest, became a type for all, and became Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Swedish, as it was in the one country or the other.

Several circumstances supervened in the formation to give a modified character to the Swedish tongue. There were epochs when the influence of German was almost overwhelming. The trade of the Henseatic towns took the place of that with the old Roman emporiums of the South. This brought a multitude of German merchants into the Swedish marts. The Christian religion contributed largely of religious phraseology almost wholly Latin in its original. Subsequent to the Union of Kalmar, Danish was regarded as the superior speech of the united country, and was much affected by the upper classes. Next came the Reformation proper, which again threw the waves of the German tongue, somewhat angry with breaker and foam, high on these Northern coasts. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, however, we have the remarkable spectacle of an attempt to shake off all foreign influences and to substitute therefor the corresponding folk speech, grammar, and vocabulary. A race of native scholars and authors grew up who set the example of writing pure Swedish, of preferring the literary models native to that language, and who, if they did not positively restore the ancient genius of the Swedish tongue, succeeded in checking the introduction of foreign elements.

How Swedish has been modified by German influences.

As the eighteenth century drew to its close in Europe, French models were affected in nearly all the literature and art of the continent. To this foreign culture the Swedes yielded in a measure, and we may even yet see in the books of the period the fashionable vestiges of the French style. All of these vicissitudes, these fluctuations and excitements, have been felt more keenly in Gothland, that is, in Southern Sweden, than in the northern provinces, where the language has kept its Norse purity, with little foreign infection. There are districts in which the Danish models have been substituted for those properly Swedish, but Swedish is the language of the land, the language of education, of science, and, for the most part, of the press. There has been a struggle of forces in the matter of the forms of the alphabet. The original Swedish alphabet was German as to the forms of its letters, but the Roman alphabet has encroached upon the other and almost overmastered it, though the German letters are still much used by the Swedish authors.

French models affected by Swedish writers of 18th century.

CHAPTER XCIV.—THE SWISS.

IN many parts of this work we have had occasion to notice the peculiar ethnic manifestations which are seen along the margin of races where they roll together. It is like the action of the waves on the surface of a great river. Opposing currents become confluent at an angle, and a long line of broken water indicates the presence of a linear vortex. Such a phenomenon has been present for many ages by the confluence of the Teutonic and Celtic races on the line of the Rhine. Should you take your stand at Zurich and look almost due north, to the extreme of Holland, you might follow with your eye, in a general way, the line upon the surface of the ethnic life of the world where the waves of Teutonism have rolled up on the shores of the Celtic races. Through this region we may pass clear across the Continent, from the gulf of Genoa to the German ocean, and find traces of the ethnic warfare that has gone on since the prehistoric ages. Here are several peoples whose place it is difficult to decide with certainty, because of bendings and twistings of the line of race formation. Switzerland is an example of such a country. On the north, it has Germany; on the east, Austria and Liechtenstein; on the south, Italy and France; and on the west, France. Nearly the entire boundary is composed of mountains, of lakes, and rivers. It is the highest part of Europe. But we are here concerned to note the ethnic relations of its people.

Swiss race intermediate between Celt and German.

There is no doubt as to the foundation, the substratum, of the population. This is the Helvetia of Cæsar. The collective name of the tribes was Helvetii. They were of Celtic origin. So it may be fairly confessed that at Cæsar's day they were, like the Belgians, though not to so great a degree, Germanized in their manners and customs. The center of the race appears to have been among the Rhetian Alps, and curious scholarship has discovered what is claimed to be an Etruscan, or Tyrrhenian, origin for this nest of men in its mountain eyrie. At the present time the people occupying the original seats of the race are known as the Grisons, and their language, based as it is on a Hellenic root, has constituted one of the problems of philology. It is as though a section of logwood should be found in one of the notches of Marshall's Pass!

Helvetian progenitors of the Swiss; impact on Rome.

One of the first strokes against the Roman race by barbarism from the direction of the Alps was out of this country of Helvetia. In the year 107 B. C. the three nations of Helvetians, Tigurinians, and Tugenians, in alliance with the Cimbri and the Teutones, and led by the Helvetian general, Divico, fell upon the Romans, commanded by their consul, Lucius Cassius, and almost annihilated the army. It came to be considered a national disgrace and shame, and though it might seem to us a poor excuse that Cæsar should refer to a fight that was old before he was born as a good reason that he should draw a sharp sword against the Helvetians, yet the sting was sufficient.

The course of history at least here runs smooth. In the year 101 the Cim-

ASCENT OF MONT BLANC.—Drawn by A. Slom.

brian allies were overwhelmingly defeated by the Romans, and the remnant of the race returned after the Helvetians had already gathered into their mountain fastnesses. It was one of the Helvetian tribes, instigated to such action by their leader, Orgetorix, that undertook the project, when Cæsar had command in the North, of descending from the Alps into Gaul and retaking their original seats. We are surprised to see them burning their towns and destroying their villages and crossing the Saône with so little apprehension, so little conception of the real nature of the undertaking they had in hand, though they might well have been excused for underestimating such a phenomenon as Julius Cæsar. This vanguard of the Helvetian nation was met by the Roman general at Bibracte, the modern Autun, and almost exterminated in battle. The conqueror followed them back to their old Alpine haunts and overpowered the whole nation, making Helvetia into a province of the republic and of the empire that was soon to be.

Cæsarian complication with the race; Helvetia Provincia.

OLD HELVETIAN TYPE—GUIDE FROM THE ENGADINE.

It appears, then, that the Helvetian race, occupying at the beginning of our era the country about the headwaters of the Rhone, had a Gallic origin, and that they themselves had come by conquest into the mountainous region now known as Switzerland. It would appear, moreover, that here they had been considerably interfused with peoples of the German stock, but that they had taken

Prehistoric history of the Helvetian stock.

on a national character before their subjection to the Romans. During the continuance of the empire of the West, or at any rate until the beginning of the barbarian inroads by which the empire was destroyed, the Helvetians, conformed as they now were in large measure to Roman usages, institutions, and laws, remained an imperial province. As early, however as the second century, more particularly the third and fourth, these mountainous peoples were harrassed with the premonitions of a deluge whose waves should go over the mountaintops. The first of the German tribes who broke from their settlements beyond the Rhine and the Danube struck the refined but weakened provinces which were now no longer defended from foreign ravage by the sword of Rome.

Thus came the powerful Allemani, of whom we have spoken, into the country of Switzerland; thus also the Burgundians and the Goths. Switzerland was divided among these nations. In the sixth century the terrible Frankish warriors drew the sword against them all, and retook the Swiss cantons, also, for the Christian religion. Bishoprics and convents were founded at this early date, and the great ecclesiastics rose to influence and power in a time when merely secular authority seemed to fall into utter dismemberment. During the ascendency of the Franks the country of the Swiss was divided into Rhetia and Thurigan on the one side, and into what was called Little Burgundy on the other. It was on the north that the entanglement with the Germans was constant. Burgundy was the open road through which flowed the almost common life of the Mountain Celts and the transdanubian Germans.

Germanic elements mix in to form the Swiss.

Whatever may have been the tie which bound the original Swiss to their country—bound first the Rhetians to the mountain fastness so far from their ethnic base, and then bound the Gaulish states as with an anchor to the Swiss valleys—certain it is that the tie was strong. It might be difficult to find any other modern government whose origin has been of a like kind with that of the Swiss. The central idea is that of a league or confederation. In course of time, after the Franks had held Switzerland up to the reign of Charles the Fat, the country was lost to the Germans. The north part went to the Duke of Swabia and the south part was given to Burgundy. The Hungarian invasions of the tenth century increased the importance of the Swiss towns, many of which, by fortifications and defense, rose to the rank of independence, like the free cities of Germany.

The league as the foundation of Swiss government.

For a season the country held the relation of fiefs in the German empire. Noble families sprang up in the mountain heights, and others became extinct. Such free cities were Bern and Freyburg. They attached themselves to the German empire. Meanwhile Zurich, Bern, and Basel formed an alliance, with the intention of making themselves absolutely independent, and, perhaps, the country with them. The event showed, however, that the independence of Switzerland was to be deduced from another source. The three ancient cantons of Schwytz—from which the modern name of the country and the people has been derived—Uri, and Unterwalden entered into a league, ever famous in the annals of the country, to protect themselves in common and to defend the freedom of their native land.

Free cities; confederation of the four cantons.

The immediate occasion from which the Swiss confederation took its rise was the death of Rudolph of Hapsburg. Intrigues had been going on for the incorporation of the Swiss cities as cantons of the German empire, and this project the Swiss steadfastly resisted. After Rudolph's death the effort was made by Albert, his son, to promote the unity of the Swiss with the Austrians.

RUTLI—SCENE OF THE CONJURATION.

Bern and Zurich flew at once into open secession, and were successful in their resistance, but Albert succeeded temporarily in setting up his authority in Schwytz, Uri, and Unterwalden. There was on the common frontier of these three old cantons a meadow known as the Rutli, where, on the night between the 7th and 8th of November, 1307, thirty-three of the greatest men of the canton, whose names, however, have not been transmitted to the immortalities of human history, met in their own right to swear the expulsion of Austria from Switzerland.

Attempts to unite the Swiss with the Austrian Germans.

A document had been prepared, known as the Everlasting League of the Men of Uri, Schwytz, and Nidwald—the latter being the ancient name of Unterwalden. No account has been preserved other than tradition of what was done on that memorable night when the everlasting league was sworn, but the meaning of it was the liberation of the country from Austria. There had already, fully half a century before, been used in Uri a common seal to attest independent acts. The same fact appeared in Schwytz as early as 1281. But in Nidwald, or Unterwalden, no such effort at independence had been hazarded until the league was sworn. The fundamental principle involved was not so much community of existence as mutual aid and backing in case of attack from without. To this there was added a sort of extradition against the higher grade of criminals. Minor causes and civil actions, however, were attended to according as the crime was committed in this or the other of the cantons. One of the strongest features of the league was that it required most of the officers to be native and to the manor born. It rarely happened that any one who was a stranger to the country could become judex or hold other responsible trust.

Everlasting league of Uri, Schwytz, and Nidwald.

It is doubtful whether any other covenant ever made by men took so strong a hold upon their imagination, or held it with such pertinacity, as did this conjuration of the Rutli. There were other leagues. Indeed, the age was rife with them. Sometimes a greater, sometimes a less, number made solemn oaths amid the Swiss cantons to stand or to fall together. No modern declaration of independence, not even that of the United States in 1776, made so powerful an impression upon the patriots whom it bound. The student of history knows what followed; how Austria struggled to recover and maintain her preëminence and authority; how the heroic, but perhaps impossible, episode of William Tell inflamed the mind of the people until the implanting of Austrian tyranny among the Swiss Alps was barred by an everlasting interdict.

The oath holds the faith and imagination of the race.

During the Middle Ages there were in Switzerland, or at least in adjacent localities, several striking conflicts of arms, the like of which for determination and persistency could hardly be found in any other period of human history. The whole struggle on the part of the Swiss was for free charters, and the whole resistance on the part of the Austrians was against the independence which would be implied, and perhaps guaranteed, in such documents. It was a confederation on the one side and the House of Hapsburg on the other. We might almost call it a contest of Liberty with Absolutism. The bad or despotic personal characters of several of the princes of the German empire had much to do with keeping

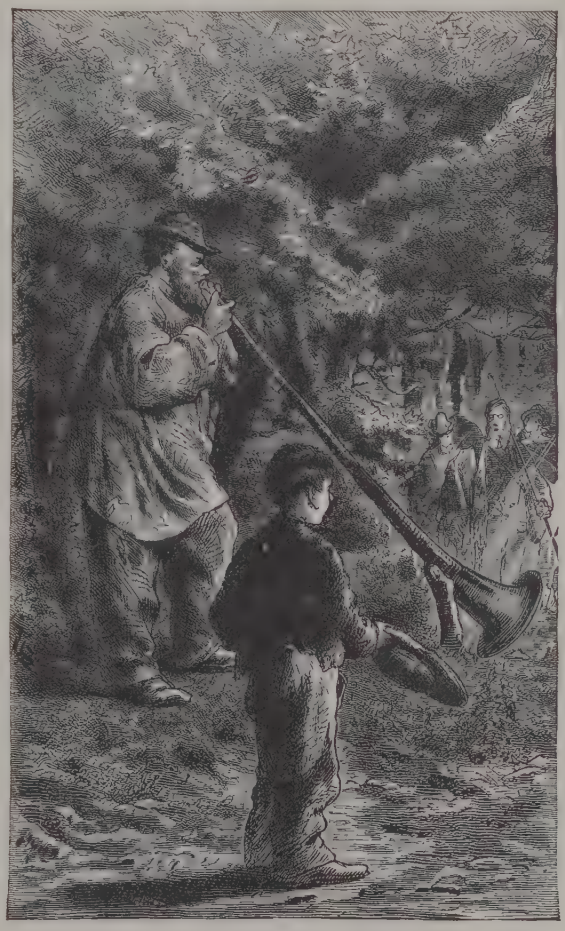
Struggle of the Swiss with Austrians for free charters.

up the contest. In the times of Leopold war broke out, and on November 15, 1315, that monarch, with about twenty thousand men, passed along the shore of lake Egeri to destroy the town of Schwytz. The entrance into the district was a hillside pass, steep and difficult, between the mountain and the lake. In this had gathered a band of nearly fifteen hundred Swiss. Here the battle was had. The Swiss warriors threw down huge masses of stone from the heights above on the army of Leopold, and destroyed about fifteen hundred of their infantry. The defeat was overwhelming. The German invaders began to get a wholesome dread of the mountaineers. Such was the battle of the Morgarten Pass, famous in mediæval history.

The next great struggle was in 1386, on the 9th of July. In that year the Austrian army made its way into the country, and the league prepared resistance. Again the disparity of numbers was about four to one. Leopold III was now emperor—nephew of him whom the Swiss had overthrown at Morgarten. The battle took place at Sempach, ever afterwards memorable in the annals of the mountaineers. The field is described as an area of sloping meadowland, crossed by streams and hedges. The situation was such as to compel the Austrians, who were in armor, to dismount, and the day so hot as to be unendurable to a foreign soldiery. It was a long time, however, before the Austrian lines could be broken. Finally, as is known to all the world, the heroic audacity of Arnold von Winkelried sufficed, by self-sacrifice, to make an opening in the Austrian phalanx, with which the Swiss made a charge and routed the enemy to defeat and overthrow.

Climax of Sempach; episode of Winkelried.

If we pause to consider a moment the significance of these terrible battles of the Swiss against the Austrians, we shall find, perhaps, that they are an expression of old tribal antipathies, going back to the times when the inhabitants of Uri, Unterwalden, and Schwytz were Celtic. As the traveler to-day passes



BLOWING THE ALP HORN.

Significance of the Swiss contest with Austria.

over the country from the higher mountain regions down toward Baden into the land of farmers and peasants, from the land of chamois hunters and goat herds, he will be surprised at the ethnic change which passes over the landscape. It is evident that the people of the lower country toward Baden are Germanic, those on the French border from Neufchâtel to Basel are French, while the mountaineer Swiss have a race character of their own, which has been differentiated in the last ten centuries from a Celtic basis.

BAUSCHANZLI AND LAKE ZURICH.

It is probable that the indisposition of mountain peoples to submit themselves to absolutism and other fixed conditions which they must first accept and then bear, is traceable primarily to physical causes. We have had occasion to speak in a former part about the establishment of great despotisms on the plains of the East, and to note the strong contrast afforded by the solidified peoples of the plain and the races of the mountains. It is doubtless this very circumstance of open plain on the one hand and inaccessible heights on the other that has led, or at least contributed, to the building of despotic governments under one environment and of republican liberties under the other. Switzerland is the republic of Europe. The Alpine horn was wound not only for the Swiss themselves, but for all the democrats and republicans of modern times.

Relation of freedom and absolutism to mountain and plain.

Something of this is found in the survival of old tribal liberties in countries situated as is Switzerland, but much more of it may be discovered in the fitness of things. In the lowlands vast masses of

men may be aggregated in proximity with the food supply. They may be commanded, disciplined, organized in the open plain. There they may be prepared for battle, arranged in squares, directed with precision and with massive effect in carrying out the dictates of some individual will. Besides, in such situations man is even as his fellowman. They are parts of a block which may be put together. The individual is in the block and not in the part. In the mountains all these conditions are reversed. It would be beyond the truth to say that patriotism is limited to the hills, but it has there its nesting place and its fastness. Thus we may see evolved from a certain ethnic origin, by a peculiarity of national discipline, and more particularly under a given environment in sequestered valleys and among the Alpine glaciers, a national character and a type of institutions for which we should look in vain in any other part of modern Europe.

An examination of the vital statistics of Switzerland brings out many points of interest. There is, as in most European countries, an excess of women. Partly from the emigration of men and partly from the immigration of women this inequality between the sexes has been produced. The dissolution of the marriage bond is much more frequent than in some other countries of parallel development. It rises as high as six per cent of all the marriages. If the situation were accessible, the element of foreign population would be greater than it is. As the case stood in the census of 1880, nearly one in thirteen of the inhabitants was foreign born. As in the case of most of the German-speaking races, the largest emigration is to the United States of America. Our country has within recent times been receiving from Switzerland between three thousand and twelve thousand per annum. Switzerland also shares the German disposition to distribute the population into country districts, to fill the farms and hamlets, and leave the cities with comparatively small development. According to the census of 1880 only three Swiss cities, namely, Zurich, Geneva, and Basel, had passed the limit of fifty thousand inhabitants each. A great majority of the common people are rural farmers, gardeners, and hunters. Religiously considered the country is slightly Protestant. The Catholics, however, are only in a small minority, while those who are known as non-Christians only reach a few thousand in the aggregate.

Lessons to be gained from vital statistics of the Swiss.

There are in Switzerland over one million six hundred thousand acres under cultivation, one million nine hundred and seventeen thousand acres are in forest, while two million eight hundred and sixty-six thousand acres are reckoned as unproductive lands. From these simple figures an estimate may be made of the exceeding ruggedness of the country. Out of the necessity of the situation arises a large area of common ownership. To this, whether arable, meadow land, pasture land, or forest, the name of allmend is given. The Alpine slopes are divided, according to their elevation, into three classes of pastures. Those of the least altitude are called voralpen, and are used in the pasturage of cattle early in the spring. The mittelalpen lands are the next in height, and generally mark the limits of cattle grazing, but the hochalpen meadows are inhabited with flocks as high as nine thousand feet above the sea. It is in Neufchâtel, Bern, and the Grisons that the hochalpen flocks most abound. Of

Classification of the land areas of Switzerland.

the forest, a considerable portion still belongs to the government, but the larger part has gone to private ownership. Two facts have dependence, in the evolution of Swiss life, upon the prevalence of the forest. The first, wood carving, is one of the most ancient arts, but now of less importance. The principal seat of the modern industry is in the Bernese Oberland, where the old woodcutting of the Swiss fathers is repeated by their descendants, who have become artistic in this regard by hereditary discipline. Since 1881 attempts have been made to revive the industry, and in the year just named there were twelve hundred and two men and a hundred and five women engaged in hand carving of the original style.

Relation of Swiss forest to building and wood carving.

The second circumstance is Swiss building. The houses were originally altogether of wood, and were of two kinds, a blockhouse and a posthouse. The blockhouse is in structure much like an American loghouse, being built by framework and the superposition of logs. The posthouse, as the name implies, is a structure of which the post is the first principle, and then a framework, the intermediate parts being closed up with boards. So long as Switzerland continued to be limitless in

Characteristics of the Swiss architecture.

SWISS SHEPHERD WITH FLOCK (NEAR GLACIER OF MORTERATSCH).

its supply of forest trees, the old types of building were maintained, but more recently a third style has been introduced, much like the posthouse already described, except that for the intermediate parts of the wall bricks and stone are used. Such a structure is known as riegelhaus, and it is most frequent in those countries where the cost of timber has become considerable from the reduction of the native woods.

We should in the first place note the vigor of the Swiss. They are handcraftsmen, peasants, hunters, but under whatever garb, are personally vigorous. Perhaps the high altitude has something to do with the energy of the race. One evidence of the industry which everywhere abounds is that afforded by the statistics of imports and exports. As to ground wealth, whether of the shallow or deep earth, Switzerland is one of the poorest in all Europe. The only mineral product the exportation of which exceeds its importation is asphalt, and the production of this is virtually limited to the county of Neufchâtel. Iron is said to be found at thirteen points within the limits of Switzerland, gold in three places, silver in twenty-two, copper in twenty-nine, and lead in twenty-seven, but in no place is the yield of these minerals a source of great profit. Only thirty-five thousand tons of iron ore were raised from the mines in 1870.

Great vigor of the race; poverty in minerals.

SWISS ARCHITECTURE—CHATEAU OF CHADAU.

Bituminous and block coal are wanting, and anthracite is found to only a limited extent in the county of Valais. There are some tertiary and quaternary formations resembling coal, but even of these poor materials only about six thousand tons were raised in 1881. The sources for the production of artificial heat are therefore limited. Wood supply and peat are the chief materials used for this purpose. A small amount of salt is procured in Aargau.

SWISS INDUSTRIES—SMITHY OF LANGNAU.

But notwithstanding this underground poverty, the Swiss are manufacturers. They have a genius for the production of forms, especially those small forms which are capable of compassing a great value within the limit of an insignificant weight. It is only in recent days that the Swiss have given much attention to statistics, but we are now able to see how the balances of trades stand as between Switzerland on the one side and Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Russia, and several of the minor states. The balance of trade is against the Swiss, though not seriously. Thus the trade with Germany is, importations two hundred and forty-nine million francs, against an exportation of one hundred and fifty-seven million francs. The only two great countries between which and Switzerland the imports of the latter are less than the exports in aggregate value are the United States

Swiss manufactures; adverse balance of trade.

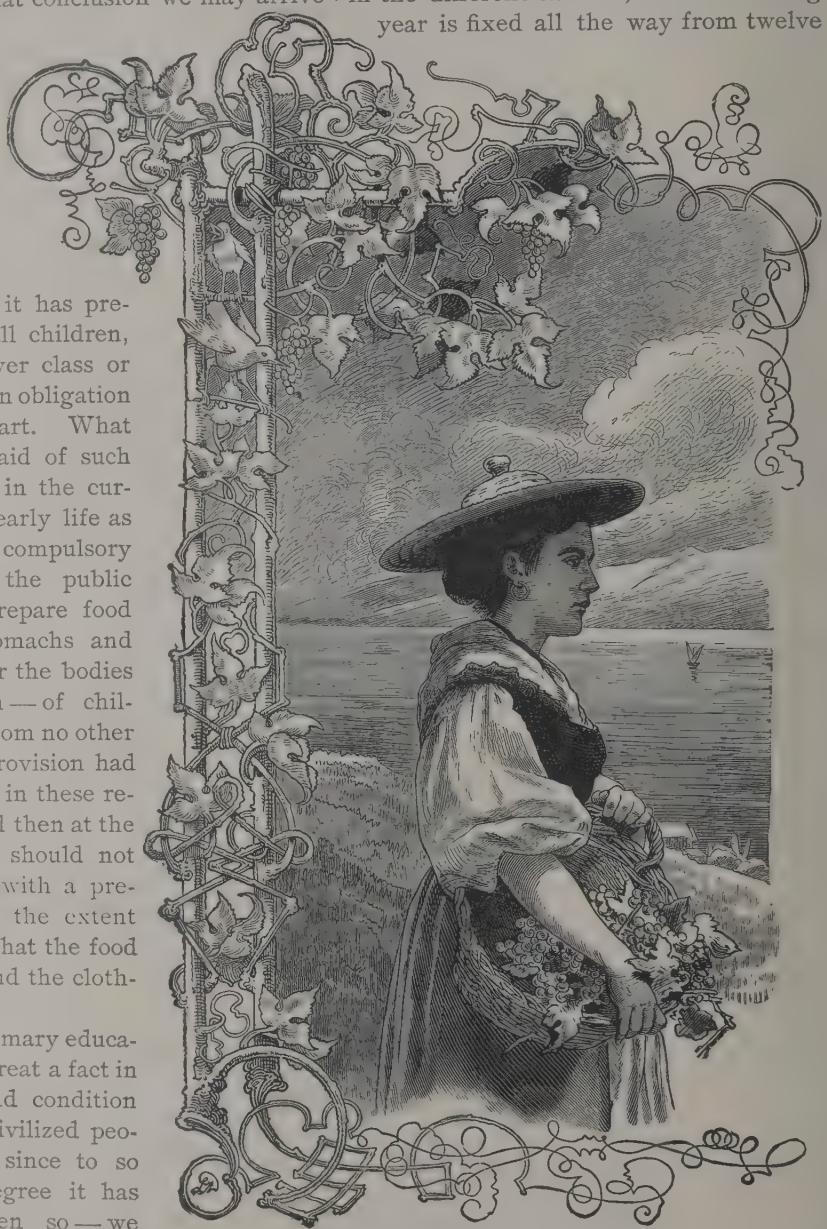
and Great Britain. With the United States the Swiss trade shows a balance in recent years of about eighteen million of importations against seventy-eight million of exportations, while the imports from Great Britain have reached the value of fifty-one million, as against an exportation of ninety-nine million. This last aggregate is made up, as the reader will already have conjectured, to a great extent of silver watches. The gold watches are more largely exported to Germany. The watch trade with the United States also has been very extensive until recent years, when the improvement in American machinery and methods has put the Swiss at fault. Their trade with the United States is now more largely in leather and the products therefrom.

LACE-MAKER OF ST. GALL—TYPE.

It is interesting to note the character and extent of the educational system of the Swiss. As far as the primary education is concerned, it must be, according to the statute of 1874, "sufficient, obligatory, gratuitous, unsectarian, and under public control." These criteria constitute, perhaps, as good a standard for the training of the youthful mind, whatever may be the ulterior object of life, as may be found among any other people. Civilized nations are still debating whether the compulsory feature shall or shall not be a part of the primary education of mankind. But since the state has no right to *deprive* any one of its children of an education, and since on the other hand any child, under whatsoever conditions born and reared, has a *right to demand* an education at

Essentials of Swiss system of education.

the hands of the state, it were difficult to see at what conclusion we may arrive other than that the state is driven by an unanswerable argument to make the instruction which it has prepared for all children, of whatsoever class or condition, an obligation on their part. What should be said of such a provision in the curriculum of early life as would, by compulsory process at the public expense, prepare food for the stomachs and clothing for the bodies of children — of children for whom no other adequate provision had been made in these respects—and then at the same time should not be armed with a prerogative to the extent of seeing that the food be taken and the clothing worn?



PEASANT GIRL OF PAYS DE VAUD—TYPE.

Since primary education is so great a fact in the life and condition of every civilized people — aye, since to so large a degree it has always been so — we may pause a moment to note one or two others of its undiscovered bourns. At what age should it be begun? What is the Swiss usage? The rule varies from five to seven years in the different cantons, and the closing year is fixed all the way from twelve to sixteen years of age. These limits, perhaps, may be made to cover the best judgment of modern times respecting

the ages at which the formal education of children may be undertaken and at which the primary discipline may be said to end. Somewhere about these limits, undoubtedly, the truth is found. Beyond this rises the secondary education. In Switzerland all the cantons

Theory of primary schools; public maintenance of institutions.

STATUE OF ROUSSEAU AT GENEVA.

have their colleges, or gymnasia, and industrial schools have in recent times particularly attracted great attention.

The Swiss have been strong and persistent in clinging to the idea of the public maintenance of their system, not only for the primary and intermediate institutions of which we have thus far spoken, but for her four principal universities, namely, those of Basel, Bern, Zurich, and Geneva. It has been noticed as a fact of peculiar interest in educational differentiations that natural growth will bring into existence a natural fitness of conditions. The statistics from 1876 to 1881 show that each of the four Swiss universities has taken a peculiar direction, or rather a direction of its own: one to the arts, one to law, one to medicine, and one to theology. In Geneva the preponderance is to medicine, being four hundred and sixty-nine students in that department against two hundred and eighty-eight in the arts, one hundred and eighty-eight in law, and one hundred and thirteen in theology. At Basel theological studies forerun all

Specializing tendency in Swiss universities.

SWISS TYPES.—From *Magazine of Art.*

the rest. At Zurich the arts have a like promotion over the other branches of university instruction, and at Bern law studies are in excess. All of the Swiss schools of higher grade have been famous from the Middle Ages, or from the date of their respective foundings.

This brings us to speak of the distinctive features of Swiss civilization. It is isolated, not indeed detached from common interests and sympathies with the thought of Europe, but set off by itself. It were difficult to say at how early a date this peculiar intellectual eyrie was created in the rocks of the Alps. The spirit of political independence found at a very early age a complete analogue of intellectual freedom. It could not be stated with exactitude when men of independent habits began to escape to the fastnesses of the Swiss lakes in order to secure there the mental liberty which was not known in any of the lowlands of Europe. This fact is of all facts the one conspicuous thing which has given Switzerland her greatness in the estimation of the modern world. It would be impossible that any country should inherit and possess so large a percentage of fugitives and exiles without becoming thereby the owner of the world's jewelry. There was, in the first place, in these upper regions about Geneva a seat of great intellectual activity. The people had grown strong and free. One may easily perceive flashing out from the pages of Cæsar the evidences—albeit unwillingly recorded—of the greatness of some of the chieftains with whom he had to contend. No fools or weaklings were they. The speech of Ariovistus was as good as his own—in argument, better. Nor might a country well flanked with such countries as Italy, France, Austria, and Germany, held in place for centuries by the strongest nationalities of the West, and set immovably in the Upper Alps, be easily disturbed in her growth or changed in the lines of her evolution.

Spirit of mental independence finds refuge in Switzerland.

To the present day we have seen issuing from these regions at times some of the greatest and best men of the age. As far off as the Middle Ages those lonesome men who live in the company of their own souls, who walk under great trees, sit by great rivers, and study the nature of things in order that men may know the essentials of whatever is and thereby be better and greater, began to gather from strange quarters of the globe into the mountain-bounded region about lake Leman. Some came to write, others to think, others to organize, others to construct ideal universes after the manner of that dualism which had been invented more than two thousand years before, by the Persian seers. Geneva became the resort of the discontented, the unhappy, of what Hugo has chosen to call *les miserables;* but it also became the city of the human mind. We may not see that the results wrought out in this mountain fastness were always good and great. It might be alleged that Protestantism suffered in the hands of the Genevese. The student of history knows well through what a transformation the work of Luther was passed when it ascended the Alps. The future will show that though in many respects the system was intensified, in few was it bettered when it left the hands of the German reformers for those of Geneva.

Les miserables at rest around lake Leman.

More and more with the changed condition in Europe, more and more with the revival and expansion of the intellect, did the mind look to a residence in that high region from which it might

Hardships of the human mind in quest of freedom.

look down into Italy, into Germany, into France. The modern reader may not well apprehend to what extent the human mind has been fugitive. It has been pursued through all the earth. It has been hunted in the wilderness and

SHEPHERD OF THE MEGLIS ALP, IN APPENZELL—TYPE.

the desert. It has found no place for the sole of the foot, no seat, no pillow. In every age the advanced guard who have chosen freedom and love for their inheritance, generosity and truth for their work, have gone to exile, even to bondage, to death, for the sole enjoyment of which they were capable, the sole liberty which they cared to enjoy and possess. But few have known, have cared to know, within the last century the extent and variety of that malign animosity with which the best thought of the Middle Ages and of the subsequent times, in both Catholic and Protestant countries, was whipped and scourged and branded until it put on a shivering, frightful appearance, as if it were one of the escaped goblins of the Purgatorio. There were many places where, in these ages, a comparative refuge was found. Here the strong-winged birds were permitted to flap for a moment on the broad summit of some distant cliff; and beyond, the forlorn spirits of light gathered anon in the nighttime and built a fire in the gloom of the woods; but for the most part it was flight, flight, flight.

European genius gathers around the Alpine lakes.

The character which Switzerland, and particularly Geneva and Lucerne, obtained as a refuge for the fugitive warriors of the Teutonic and Gallic races was extended down and enlarged to the

close of the eighteenth century, when all the restlessness and discontent of Europe seemed, at some time or other, to fix itself around the Alpine lakes. The European air had become miasmatic, and the most highly organized were the quickest to fly from the infection of the low countries. From here came forth Necker, attempting to apply the principles of honest banking to the vast scheme of frauds and brilliant jugglery which Calonne had instituted in France. Here Necker's daughter lived, when the audacity of her pen could be no longer borne in Paris. Here the lover of De Staël's mother, housed in his arbors and humble villa at Lausanne, toiled through the better part of twenty years to produce to the world the strongest historical work which has ever appeared in the English language. Nor was there local want of sympathy for any of these high spirits who found for themselves opportunity and freedom on the shores of the Swiss lakes.

As we have said on a preceding page, much of the formal knowledge of our time has been Swiss-derived. Much of the teaching to teach, which has marked the last half of the nineteenth century, has had its origin among the Swiss or on their borders. How vastly changed, and how rapidly for the better, have been the systems of instruction which have supplanted the old scholasticism of the schoolroom and the lecture hall among the civilized races! It was from the region and the people now before us that Frobel and Pestalozzi showed all the young womanhood of mankind how the childhood of mankind might be taken by the hand. When the New World was searching for a naturalist, she found him in Louis Agassiz, from the beautiful Pays de Vaud.

The Swiss have taught the teachers to teach.

PEASANTS OF THE VALLEY OF MOESA—TYPES.

It has been the practice in the course of these pages to admit the large influence of nature, her counteractions and incitements in the formation of race

character. All this may be clearly traced among the Swiss. Beginning with the open countries on the side of Germany or Italy or France, the discerning traveler will note as he enters the Alps the increasing departure of the inhabitants from the lowland type of people behind them. The picturesqueness of nature becomes the picturesqueness of man. The manner of life departs more and more from the common standard of the valleys and plains. The air grows thin and fine, and man becomes individualized and intensified. Vines and flowers have ascended the valleys to the limits of the avalanche, as if the beauty and richness of the lower world would thus meet and conquer the glaring ice-pestle of the mountain, where

Large influence of nature in determining Swiss development.

> "The glacier's cold and restless mass
> Moves onward day by day."

In these high and wild surroundings the character of the Swiss race has taken its form and substance. It is one of cheerfulness, of patriotism, of energy, of endurance. In so far as the race has an ethnic origin in common with the Germans, it has a sufficiency of the spirit of adventure to carry it forth into foreign lands; otherwise, it remains profoundly attached to the locality and the local interests with which it was first associated. The manners and customs of the people are almost primeval in simplicity. A disposition prevails to perpetuate the ancient forms of artisanship and art. Swiss music has the same peculiarities. Its qualities are such as are common to all the mountain regions of the earth. The singing and reed-instrument playing of the Swiss have a character of their own which may not be mistaken. Here the alpine horn is heard, flinging its echoes from height to height, across abysses and over valleys that are too profound for the eye; and here the Swiss yodel, strangest evolution of the human voice, bears its wonderful melodies from the herdsman's lips in the hochalpen pastures to his sweetheart in the mountain hut at sunset.

Outlines of the mountaineer character; peculiar traits.

BOOK XIII.—THE SLAVS.

CHAPTER XCV.—THE LITHUANIANS.

IT now remains for us, after this wide excursion through Central and Western Europe, to fall back to one of our original points of view in order to note the progress and development of another of the major European peoples. We must again return to the country between the Black and the White sea, and plant ourselves in that great migratory current of peoples by which all the North Europeans, with very few exceptions, were distributed to their respective places. We must, in doing so, consider ourselves as prepared to observe the evolution of the last of the great Aryan divisions of mankind in the West. We may consider the point of observation to be above the Black sea to the right, and looking to the north and west.

Point from which to scan the dispersion of Slavic races.

We are here in the old river-bed over which so many human waters have rolled. Through these ethnic channels flowed the Celtic and German races to the West. All those vast and populous tribes and nations whom we have attempted to describe came by this route, in ages both earlier and later than the rise of the Græco-Italic race in the Southern peninsulas; earlier, for we may well conceive of the primitive Celts who traversed the shores of the Baltic, and even found a lodgment, in some prehistoric age, in Sweden, as far in advance of the emergence of the Hellenic tribes in the southeast of Europe; later, because, as we shall now see, the rear guard of the barbarian nations came into Europe at an epoch within the historical limit. In all this we note again the *continuous character* of national movements. They are not, as a rule, sudden and phenomenal, but slow, tedious, and toilsome in their course.

Common route for distribution of all Europeans.

It may be asked in the very beginning, even before we have so much as named the Letto-Slavic races as the family to which we are now to give our

GRAND ARARAT WITH COSSACK CAMP IN FOREGROUND.—Drawn by Taylor, from a photograph.

attention, by what kind of indications the historian and ethnographer may venture in matters of so much importance to state the earlier or the later arrival of a race in a new country in a prehistoric age. One of the strong indications is language. Let us for a moment consider the languages of all Europe as a series of inflections from a common type, whereby the various races have expressed their thought and indicated their emotions. As we have already said, on such a question as the relative roughness of speech, climate has had not a little to do. The Northern languages are rough; the Southern languages are smooth; the Northern are guttural; the Southern are vocalic and musical. These are the laws to which, however, there are many limitations and restrictions. Apart, however, from those qualities which climate and environment are able to give or to intensify, there has been in the European languages, if we mistake not, a regular gradation according to age—a gradation in what may be called elaborateness of structure and smoothness and musical utterance. The old languages had a more elaborate structure than those which were dominant in the earlier centuries of our era; they, a more elaborate than the tongues of the Middle Ages; they, than the dialects and languages of modern times.

How ethnographers may state sequences of race progress.

This variability in grammatical completeness and in musical vocability may be used as a standard to determine, not indeed exactly, but relatively, the era at which a given language was heard on the tongues of men. Now the rough-

Language may be an index of priority among races.

ANCIENT SLAVIC SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTION.
Drawn by Puyplat, from a photograph.

ness, jaggedness, and consonantal stiffness and guttural quality of the Slavic and Lithuanian languages, even as compared with German, much more as compared with Scandinavian, are so striking qualities as to have led many to suppose the Slavic tongues to have been derived from another radix totally different from the Teutonic languages. If we should begin in the extreme West with the Icelandic Norse, the oldest and most isolated of all the Teutonic languages, and trace our way backward through Norwegian and Danish into Ingavonian, or Low German, thence into High German—Old High German, Middle High German, New High German—we should find an ascending scale of recency, and note infallibly that it corresponds with an ascending scale of roughness and guttural quality. Now, by carrying on this same ascent, we come into the Lithuanian and Slavic languages, and by a reasoning the force of which may not be well broken, we see that the latter are youngest of all the Teutonic arrivals, though some, indeed, have supposed them as ancient as the first of European tongues.

POST-SLEDGE AND COURIER—Drawn by De la Charlerie.

It is not here, however, that we propose to discuss the languages of the great

and widely dispersed peoples included under the general name of Letto-Slavic.

Positive historical proofs of the late arrival of the Slavs.

We pause merely to note that, in addition to the testimony of language, there is positive historical proof as to the comparatively late arrival in Europe of the races so-called. In general, we may say that the Slavic tongues are bounded on the west by the Teutonic, on the south by the Asiatic dialects of Turkey in Asia and of Persia west of the Caspian, on the east by the Ural river and mountains, and on the north by the Arctic ocean. It is a wide domain, and covers not only the Slavic languages proper, but the larger part of the Lithuanian tongues.

The latter are heard in the western parts of the Russian empire. Several of the western provinces, some of the northeastern parts of Poland and Prussia, the territory on the Baltic coast, and in the valleys of the rivers Niemen and Duina are included as Lithuanian. We see thus how closely in these regions the languages so-called are pressed up against those Teutonic tongues with which we have had some faint acquaintance since the days of Cæsar and Tacitus.

Place and first mention of the Lithuanians.

If any of the peoples covered by the general name of Letto-Slavic may be regarded as having an ethnic claim to priority in Europe, they are, perhaps, the Lithuanians. In all probability the two nations called by Ptolemy, Gelindæ and the Sudeni, were divisions of the Lithuanians. In general, the Lithuanians are the smallest branch of the Rossiyans, or Russians. Also they are the most westerly in their distribution, the most approximate as it respects the Germanic nations. They number, in all, only about three million inhabitants in the countries named above.

Lithuanian stock oldest of Slavic races in Europe.

The references in the works of ancient authors to any people whom we may distinctly recognize as Lithuanians are exceedingly rare and uncertain in character. Nor is this more than we might reasonably expect, for we have seen how greatly the knowledge of even such authors as Tacitus has had to be corrected and restrained by better information—this as it respects the peoples on the line of the Rhine and the Danube. What, therefore, should we expect of an ethnographer writing in the epoch before our era who should discuss in a shadowy way a people of whom he may have *heard*, called Lithuanians, on the Baltic sea?

Uncertainty of classical references to this people.

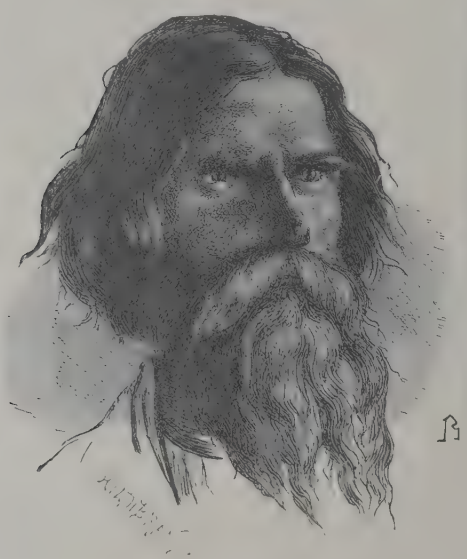
In the tenth century, however, the name of Litva had appeared to designate those races that we now define as Lettic, or Lithuanian. At this time they occupied the southeastern shore of the Baltic, extending from the Vistula to the Duina, northeasterly to lake Peipus, southeasterly to the watersheds between the rivers flowing into the Baltic and those flowing into the Black sea. To the north lay, in a nebulous outline, the Finnish nations, and on the other parts of the periphery, except the Baltic, the Lithuanians were bounded by the Slavonians proper.

Apparition of the Lithuanian race in the tenth century.

It may be worth while at the outset to say something of the lands chosen by these tribes as a habitation. They were wide enough, but hardly fruitful enough, for an empire. Hardly any part of Europe has a more forbidding aspect than the region which we have here described. It is a flat, undulating country, almost as low in level as the Baltic, and there-

Character of Lithuanian forests and swamps.

fore occupied in large part with marshes and lagoons that are only lakes by the courtesy of being so denominated. In the northern part of Lithuania the soil is formed of sand, but in the south of clay, which in its texture approximates the character of bowlder. In all parts it is unproductive. At first it was a universal forest, thick, dark, and dank. For the last three centuries these wild, low woods have been penetrated by a class of peasants known as Budniki, who, with fire and axe, have sought to destroy the forest and open the country to culti-



OLD LITHUANIAN PROPHET—TYPE.
Drawn by B. Vereschaguine.

vation. A century ago, during the reign of Catharine the Great, that princess thought to enrich and ennoble her courtiers and lovers by distributing to them large areas of this comparatively worthless land. In this way a certain percentage has been reclaimed, and with the incoming of the sunlight and the outgoing of the marsh gas more favorable conditions have supervened for the progress of civilization.

The swamp forest, which may be described as the fundamental condition of the Lithuanian countries, has performed an important part, passively, in the history of the peoples inhabiting these regions. The woods have rendered the nations who have had their abodes therein inaccessible to foreign invasion. The history of the Lithuanian race, its mythology, poetry, and music are all derived from the wild marsh country which the people inhabit, and are harmonious in tone and rhythm therewith. To as late a date as the fourteenth century the primitive rites of the Lithuanian worship were performed in the native woods. There a high priest, called the Judge of Judges, sitting serenely at the head of a hierarchy of seventeen orders, interpreted the tradition and decided the myth of the nation. Here the wild men of paganism were assembled. Here the Waidelots brought their offerings which were laid at the roots of the oak tree. A fire, like that of the Parsees, was kept perpetually burning in the untrodden forest, and it is said that unto the present day, in the further villages of the Lithuanians and the Letts, the ancient worship by fire is preserved, repeating again, as we have seen already repeated in the oak forests of Britain and more dimly in the woods of Germany, the outlines and suggestions of the old Zoroastrian belief and ritual.

Force of environment in fixing religion and society.

So soon as we begin the work of classification among these people, we are again confronted with the easy ethnic gradations by which one race of mankind sometimes descends to and mingles with another. At the opening of the fifteenth century we find the Lithuanian race divided into three great branches. The first included the Borussians, or Prus-

Ethnic analysis of the Lithuanian family.

sians; the second, the Letts, who gave to themselves the name of Latvis; while the third class were known as Lithuanians proper, but were subdivided into many tribes. So we see that the Lettic line is thrown around into Prussia, and includes at least a part of the country

BLACK-HAIRED TYPE FROM THE NIEMEN.
Drawn by D'Henriet.

afterwards so known. Yet who shall deny to Prussia a German antecedence? This is to say, that in the direction which we are here traveling we find a Lithuanian descent into a German plain.

On other borders we should find a like approximation, but there were three main divisions of the people well marked in their distinctions, and preserved in the same to the present day. There was also another group of tribes with whose place ethnologists have been much confused. On the Upper Niemen and the Bug were found a numerous and warlike black-haired people inhabiting the thick of the woods. They had in general the qualities of a Lithuanian people, and to the present time

Black-haired races of the Niemen woods.

their personal characteristics are preserved in the country where the White Russians are mixed with other nations, in the provinces of Grodno and Plotsk.

There is on the Russian side a certain want of definition between Lithuanian and other Slavonic races. It has not been known with certainty whereabout the Jemgala or people of Semigallia should be placed. They lie on the left bank of the Duina, but whether Slavonic or Lithuanian it were difficult to determine. The race of Kors, generally classified as Russians, have been many times numbered among the Lithuanian tribes. The Golad, on the banks of the Porotva, and the Courons, of Courland, have likewise a disputed ethnological relation. Even the Krivitchi, who now possess the government of Smolensk, have such striking resemblances to the Lithuanians as to lead some authors to classify them therewith. In all such regions and among all

Mixed Lithuanian and Slavonic tribes.

BLACK-HAIRED TYPE FROM THE BUG.
Drawn by D'Henriet.

such peoples we may consider the relationships as deduced from both sides. It is the case of mixed races, whose qualities will gravitate in course of time to the one ancestor or the other, but who

for the present display the characteristics of both.

It appears that not even among the ancient Germans themselves was the principle of tribal subdivision carried out more fully than among the Lithuanians. Each clan and village was separate from the other. Forests and marshes lay between. The people had

Localism of the race; foreign invasions.

OLD LIVONIAN TYPES AND WINTER COSTUMES.
Drawn by D'Henriet.

no liking for towns, duns, and fortifications. To the present time writers of acute observation visiting these regions are struck with the woodland character of the country and the people. It is likely that in the Middle Ages Lithuania, as much as any other country of Europe, lay open to hostile invasions. An open border is to the barbarian instinct a card of invitation which is rarely declined. The Russians broke into the Lettish territories, and also the Germans. The Borussians, or Prussians, thus suffered conquest on the German side. They passed under the dominion of the latter people and ceased to be independent. Strange would it have been to explain to their leading chieftains, in council assembled, how the name Prussia, from the Mark of Brandenburg, was destined to give, in after times, a powerful accent to civilization, and to contribute one of the most solid dynasties to the after times of monarchy.

In like manner the Letts were displaced and driven to the North, where they were mixed with the Livs, to constitute the Livonians. The Lithuanians, however, succeeded in forming an independent power early in the Middle Ages, but the history of the country is at the first legendary. We may perceive that it was an existence of constant warfare, mostly with the Slavonic nations. In the thirteenth century, Ryngold, a Lithuanian chieftain, succeeded in unifying his own people and in conquering a large extent of territory from the adjacent races, particularly the Russians. It was thus that that class of people known as Black Russians were constituted. The authority of Ryngold was also extended over the republics of the Red Russians. Those peoples of original Lithuanian descent who had planted themselves among the Livonians now encouraged the policy of reinvasion, and the wars between Livonia and Lithuania proper ended in the ascendency of Ryngold's family. His son, Mendowg, was made king, and carried forward the pol-

Rise of the Lithuanians to unity and power.

icy of his father. It was at this time that Christianity made its principal inroads among the Lithuanians, the House of Ryngold itself leading the way in the patronage of that religion.

Attempts of the Lithuanians to become national.

The time and occasion of which we here speak was one of those by which the vast outlying northeastern parts of Europe were knit together somewhat with the destinies of that better known Europe whose history was already known. It appears that Mendowg had far-reaching views of policy. At his time there was in Lithuania a Livonian order of knighthood, representing those old families that had been expelled in the past. It was believed that by conceding something to these there might be a great gain in unifying the people. The demand was that the Lithuanian chieftain should become a Christian, and he was accordingly crowned by Innocent IV. But his faith was not as substantial as his policy might have proved excellent. He relapsed into barbarism and was presently killed. At the close of the century a new dynasty of native Lithuanian princes received the country and enlarged its boundaries. In 1325 Gedymin, a member of this house, appears in history in a treaty with Poland against the Livonians, and from this time forth the Lithuanians are seen ever and anon on the northeastern frontiers of Europe.

Two opposing political tendencies of the Middle Ages.

In the Middle Ages there were in nearly all European countries two diverse political tendencies. One was to concentrate political power in the hands of one member of a given family, the other was to divide it among all. The one tended to monarchy, the other tended to feudalism. The one represented the earlier Middle Ages, the other the later. It might be difficult to cite a single example of a country in Europe that has not felt the accession and recession of these forces, and since the enlargement of our knowledge of the history of the Orient, we find that the countries of the East, as well as those of the West, have been passing through a like vicissitude.

Of Gedymin's seven sons, Olgerd and

OLD LITHUANIAN BEGGAR—TYPE
Drawn by D'Henriet.

Keistut gained the rule, and presently Olgerd alone. He advocated a union with Russia. He greatly increased the influence of the kingdom by his diplomatical relations. His wife and sons became Christians, and he also was baptized after the Greek ritual, but his brother, meanwhile, was a reäctionist, in favor of the old nationality. Thus seeming to oppose himself to all the radical and aggressive movements of his brother, he became recognized as a sort

Keistut a national hero; union with Poland.

of national hero, standing for independence, freedom, and the oneness of the Lithuanian race. At the middle of the fourteenth century the two agreed on the policy of reëstablishing the national independence of their country. In doing so it was agreed that Olgerd should be king. The consolidating tendency was very apparent. Yagello, the son of the king, took in marriage Yadviga, princess of Poland, and received baptism in a Latin Church. In 1386 he

LITHUANIAN TYPES.—Drawn by V. Foulquier.

was crowned as King of Poland. Thus the two countries were brought into political union at a time very nearly coincident with the great union of Kalmar.

Political absorption of the Lithuanians by the Poles.

The circumstance which we have here narrated of the consolidation of two kingdoms on the border of German Europe and the spreading out of Lithuania into a single great state, having her border lines as far east as the banks of the Moskva, the sea of Azof, and Odessa, may well excite our wonder as an example of that common fact which has appeared at some time in the history of every nation—its barbarian effort for unity. During the fifteenth century, however, the union of Lithuania and Poland was nominal rather than real. Not until the reign of Sigismund Augustus, in 1569, did a more stable form of political development appear. At this time the country was compact. In such cases there always ensues a leadership of one or the other of the united states. Scotland was united with England, but the preservation of independence was impossible except as to local institutions.

In the case of Lithuania and Poland, it was the former that was merged with the latter. Sigismund, of whom we have just spoken, was King of Poland. It might be truthfully said that the history of the kingdom of Lithuania as a separate power ceases from this date and becomes a part of the Polish annals. From henceforth the Lithuanians and the White Russians partook of the fortunes, shared the honors, and shared also the disasters of the kingdom of Poland, until finally, by the three great partitions, as much as did not fall to the Western powers went to the Russian empire.

It may be proper, then, in this connection to look, first of all, at the physical characteristics of the Lithuanian people. Their form and features are almost as finely marked as those of any other race. In general, there is not much departure among them from the standards of beauty and regularity; that is, there are only a few who are unusually tall or bony, and only a few who are obese and clumsy of build. The features are finely cut, but have a peculiarly elongated expression. At the first sight a stranger is struck with what seems to him to be the long-visaged character of the race. The hair is very fair in color and texture. It may well remind one, as it floats on the heads of girls and even on men of mature years, of the blonde, almost colorless, hair of the Swedes. The eyes are blue, and have much of the German character. The skin is delicate, and blushes easily. By such qualities the people are well discriminated from the Poles and Russians. There is another particular, also, in which the Lithuanians are greatly different from the peoples just named. The Poles are among the most showy people in Europe as to dress. This is said particularly of the upper classes of society. But the Lithuanians prefer gray or neutral colors, not calculated to attract attention from the person by the brightness of the tint or the copiousness of the pattern.

Ethnic features of the people; the Polish contrast.

A striking peculiarity which is soon recognized among the Lithuanians, at least by scholars, is the astonishing similarity of their language to ancient Sanskrit. It is declared by those who are, perhaps, competent to judge, that whole phrases and idioms unmistakably Sanskrit are heard on the banks of the Niemen among the Lithuanian peasantry. Of course it is made up of a

Striking similarity of Lithuanian and Sanskrit.

great vocabulary and structure of grammar peculiar to itself, but it has retained from the ancient folkspeech of the Indic Aryans a fair percentage of the phraseology which was common to all branches of the Indo-European race before their departure to their respective seats.

On the other hand, an analogy is noticeable between the Lithuanian and some of the Germanic tongues, even the Anglo-Saxon as it was spoken in our ancestral woods. This is the copiousness of the speech in words descriptive of the natural world and in that other class of words, hardly less important, which expresses the subjective states of the mind under the influence of natural phenomena. Still a third group of peculiarities includes the numerous diminutives with which the language abounds. We have seen how in the verbs and nouns of the Greek and Latin, and even of the more recent Aryan speeches of Western Europe, diminutive forms are freely admitted, but it has remained for Lithuanian to show us the practicability and beauty of employing diminutive adjectives and adverbs. Nevertheless, the tongue which is thus spoken in its native strength has received but a slight amount of culture, and the language may be said to the present day to run in the wild.

Teutonic analogies; prevalence of Lithuanian diminutives.

Only a few of the Teutonic languages have shown a readiness to absorb from other tongues their life and qualities. Modern High German, for instance, abhors the admixture of foreign elements, and when the progress of knowledge makes it desirable for the German language to accept contributions even from the mere vocabulary of other tongues, the repugnance of the mother speech to such additions is painfully manifest. Upon this quality also may be established the relation of the Lithuanian speech with that of the German tongues. It has been with difficulty that the literary career has been started among the Lithuanians. By this is meant that foreign methods of thinking and expression are received in no kindly spirit. The literature has extended no further than a few religious books and translations from languages that have fallen under the dominion of Latin or Greek Christianity.

Hostility of Lithuanians to foreign elements in literature.

The native life, however, is there. Philologists and travelers have discovered among the Lithuanians an undoubted aspiration in the way of native epic and lyric poetry. A great many vernacular songs are already floating in the ethnic stream. It is said, moreover, that the spirit with which this song-work is pervaded and fired is of the highest poetic order. Love and melancholy, feelings of true sentiment, adoration of nature, whether in man or the external world, perfect chastity of thought, are said to be the qualities with which the vernacular songs are imbued. Criticism has shown that the lyric productions of the Lithuanian race are rarely warlike, and not particularly sociable, but are always melancholy and love-burdened to the last degree.

Literary aspiration and promise of the Lithuanians.

It is along the lines we are here pursuing that some of the problems of North European ethnology have been solved, or at least put in process of solution. The kinship of Lettish, for instance, to Lithuanian is of a kind to throw clear light on the derivation of the peoples speaking the two tongues. The relation of Lettish to Lithuanian is that of daughter to parent. But in this case we must not think of the parent as a primitive tongue, but itself a derivative. It

Relation of the Lettish and Lithuanian languages.

GREEK CHURCH AND MONASTERY.—Drawn by Gerlier.

is like the kinship of Italian to Latin. The movements of the two races within the historical period have been such as to convince us that there has been no anomalous change of speech on the part of either nation, and we are therefore left to the conclusion that the Lettish is a branch of the Lithuanian, with a large

intermixture of German and Slavonic phrases and words. It has been marked as another evidence of the more recent character of the Lettish tongue that it bears more freely the expression of foreign literature by translation than does Lithuanian.

There now exists in Lettish a large cycle of literary works which have been passed by translation out of the Western languages into the tongue of the Letts. Shakespeare, Schiller, and many other of the great works done by Western poets in their hours of inspiration have thus gone back over a pathway which, historically, would seem tortuous and difficult in the last degree, but to the ethnographer plain as the daylight. It has also been noted that a peculiarly democratic spirit, unlike the somewhat baronial disposition which displays itself in Eastern Germany, has marked the thought of the Lettish people. Their songs have the patriotism of a primitive commonwealth, fired with the hope and expectation of liberty.

Western influences in the literary product of the Letts.

The religious vicissitudes of the peoples inhabiting the Lithuanian countries may be readily inferred from their geographical position. Their late appearance as individual peoples in the Eastern empire gave the old solid Catholicism of Rome and Constantinople not much hold upon nations yet in their infancy, but at a later date, after schism and disruption had accomplished the work of separation, the Greek Catholics made a general harvest of the peoples in this region. But the latter were still in a primitive condition and subject to great and easy vicissitudes. Lutheranism crept into Courland and into many other parts of Lithuanian Europe, making havoc of the solidarity of the Greek Church. It must be understood that statistics have not yet made clear, by the doctrine of averages, the condition of the peoples in this part of Europe, but a hint has been given here and there by an actual census of the condition of the different races. Thus it is said that the Letts, of Courland, belonging to the Greek Church, now number only about fifty thousand, while all the rest are Lutherans. It is found that the Samoghitians, another large branch of the Lithuanians, belong to the Roman Church, and it is contended that here, more than in any other part of Lithuania, the more ancient features of the race have been preserved. It is as though the people of Italy should at the present time most nearly represent the Romans of the imperial ages.

Predominance of Greek Catholicism; religious complexity.

Looking abroad at the vocation of the people lying around this part of the Baltic coast, we find them generally engaged in agriculture. We have seen under what hard conditions these pursuits must be prosecuted. In common with the other states of the Teutonic world, there is a general preference for the rural over the town life. Cities do not, as a rule, flourish, but in Lithuania there are large numbers of Jews, Poles, and Germans who are tradesmen and merchants. This gives larger development to the municipal side of Lettish civilization. The Samoghitians are expert in hunting, and it has been noted by travelers that a great majority of the Lithuanians are fond of bee culture, as well as of rearing herds of cattle.

The agricultural life preponderates.

It should be kept in mind, in making up a scheme for the life of this people, that until recently the lands were held by chieftains and feudal lords, and only occupied by the peasantry. No doubt the

Land system of the Lithuanians; breaking up of estates.

tillage of the country has been much held back by these circumstances. The great Russian families held a kind of princely authority over wide regions of country that gave forth nothing, simply because there was nothing to give. The mass of the people under the old system became serfs, preferring foreign landowners to natives. It was under these circumstances that the German and Polish landlords made their way into a large part of the Lithuanian countries

LITHUANIAN JEWS—TYPES.—Drawn by V. Foulquier.

and reduced the working classes to a rank of great misery. Such a condition was antecedent to the Polish insurrection of 1863, and the Russian government was wise enough to discover the true solution. The landed properties were broken up by a process almost as violent as that which characterized the proceedings of the French Revolution a hundred years ago, and the serfs became landowning peasants. Hard is that historical problem which thus at intervals confronts the student, whether the better right to the earth lies on the side of immemorial possession — whether the greater wrong is done by destroying what the centuries have agreed to perpetuate—or whether, without regard to the personal hardships of those who have never sinned themselves, their landed estates shall be broken up without mercy and distributed without cost to the peasants who for ages have worn out their lives in making those estates what they have become. In such questions precedent goes to war with humanity.

CHAPTER XCVI.—THE RUSSIANS PROPER.

IF one should take a general view of the European kingdoms during the last three centuries, it would present a strange recession at one extreme and a striking emergence at the other. The recession is in the Spanish peninsula. The emergence is in Russia. The latter was the last of the great kingdoms to arise out of barbarism. It was only as yesterday when we might say "The Muscovite has come." This movement, the appearance and expansion of a mighty power over all the northeast of Europe, has continued steadily until the present day. All European history and every question of international law has, since the age of Peter the Great, hung about the relations of this extraordinary power to the other principalities and kingdoms of the West. There can be no doubt that the one prodigious mistake of Czar Peter was in the removal of his capital to the north instead of the south or west. The Black sea was the place for mercantile and national intercourse with the rest of the world. It has cost the Russian race an enormous sum in treasure and life to rectify the error, and the process of rectification has been the outline of Russian history during the more important part of its career.

Emergence of the Russian race in Northeastern Europe.

The smallness of European monarchies territorially considered, and even in their population, has been frequently remarked. As we progress to the western coast, everything seems narrowed to a span. But in the northeast, everything opens out as if to infinity. The Russian empire embraces an area of eight million five hundred thousand square miles, being equal to about one sixth of the entire land surface of the globe. If we look at the earth as a whole, including all oceans and seas, the entire geometrical superficies, the Russian empire is equivalent to one twenty-third. Yet it is without water, that is, without great waters, and is thinly peopled. Though its area to the whole land area of the earth is one

Vastness of territorial areas occupied by the Russians.

RUSSIAN LANDSCAPE,—View of Ghiroussi.—Drawn by Taylor, from a photograph.

to nine, its population to that of the whole earth is slightly less than one to fourteen.

Nature of the movement by which Europe was peopled.

No point of observation which we have thus far occupied has given us better opportunities to study large movements of the human race than the one here in Russia. The first migrations into Europe, indeed all migrations except the Graco-Italic, proceeded from the limitless territories here stretched out on either hand. Those primitive movements, those prehistoric efforts of the human race to escape into new areas beyond, were as waters gushing out. All who may have noticed the breaking of the dam on the further side of a large area of water may have seen how rapidly, by the sudden vent, the waters find exit; how soon the surface in all that area sinks; how rapidly the lake diffuses itself, runs away in streams, seeking its own course by the conformations of the land. Presently, however, the subsidence is less rapid. The water goes away by an easy and dallying course. Perhaps it seeks the old channels, now dry, where the first floods went forth; but if so, it flows at a lower level and with less vehemence. The volume is not so great. Still, the process goes on. The level of the great reservoir sinks gradually until the land appears here and there. It is as though the whole bottom would be exposed even as the other regions. But the movement itself becomes sluggish at the end. It is a pressure in the direction of the break, and we may say—departing in a moment from the analogy—that the break in this case is always on the western or southwestern frontier.

In a manner precisely similar the human floods make their way into distant parts. We call the movement migration, and so it is. But it is not like that process which we usually call migration. It is the breaking of the barrier on the further side that we have here before us. All the Celto-Germanic races flowed out of this Russian basin as well as the later peoples, but with every giving way on the western side the pressure was relieved, until finally the movement of the Dacians became slow and easy, a pressure which was sometimes intensified for a season and then subsided almost to zero. Now the latter condition has been that which we have witnessed in our own times. Russia, the mighty, has been pressing on the northeast of Europe. It is the subsidence of the old floods. The movement is no longer violent, but the flux of the Slavonic nations toward Constantinople and the West is as manifest to the eye of the historian and ethnographer as it was five centuries ago.

Celto-Germanic races flow from Russian reservoir.

The reader must be on his guard against confounding European Russia with Asiatic; that is, against mistaking the Slavonic countries for those belonging to the Brown races of mankind. The Slavs, if we look at them with respect to the Russian empire, are fixed rather in its western part. We may not suppose that any branch of the race after the migratory era ever turned back from the hither bank of the Volga. The Asiatic Russians belong to the vast and varied families whose ethnography is difficult and uncertain, but the Slavic races of European Russia are better understood both as to their derivation and distribution.

Place and distribution of the Russian Slavs.

As already said, Russia has no hold on the ocean. Even the feeble possessions which she had at sea in the last century she has given up. The islands

VIEW OF LAKE GOTCHA.—Drawn by G. Vuillier, from a photograph,

which she still holds are littoral, and are regarded as outlying parts of the mainland. It is a whole lesson in history to note the sale, cession, and gift of group after group of her insular possessions within the present century. The sale of Alaska and the Aleutian archipelago to the United States, in 1867, is the most conspicuous example of the disposition of the empire to part with her water lands, reserving only continental parts for her imperial growth.

Indifference of the race to maritime possessions.

We are now to consider the European Russians and the cognate Slavonian tribes. The latter include the Poles and the other minor divisions of the Slavic race. But the great predominant body is Russian. Of the more than sixty-nine million of people in European Russia—that is, Slavic European Russia—more than sixty-three million are Russians proper. About one million and twenty thousand are Poles,[1] and about one hundred and eighteen thousand are Slavonians of other blood. We thus see at a glance how great is the preponderance of that Slavonic mass which has constituted for some centuries the body of the population between the Black sea and the Arctic ocean, the Ural range and the Baltic.

Enumeration of the Pan-Slavic populations.

It may be of interest to continue this statistical estimate of the nations possessing Russia in Europe. First, of the Russians themselves: the Great Russians number nearly forty-two million, the Little Russians over seventeen million, and the White Russians four million three hundred and thirty thousand, making, as we have said, a total of nearly sixty-three and a half million of Russians. The Poles have an aggregate of between six and seven million, the Bulgarians one hundred and ten thousand, the Czechs nine thousand five hundred, and the Serbs the same, giving a total of nearly seventy million for the European Slavonians. We have already given the estimate of the Lithuanians, or the Lettic branch of the race, at three million. Other details of Aryan populations run up the total to seventy-four million five hundred and sixty thousand. To this we must add certain Jews, North Asiatics, and other elements from foreign regions to make up the entirety of Russian population. But the great branch is, as we have insisted, the Slavic, and all the rest may be considered as subordinate thereto.

We are left somewhat to conjecture as to the time and manner of distribution of the Slavonian race in Russia, but we are able to discover several circumstances worthy of special note. One is that in no other part of the world has the diffusion of mankind and the consequent establishment of a common type over a great geographical area been effected with so little difficulty. The flat surface of the country, its uniformity, its endless woods, all its physical conditions, have been as nearly uniform as the variety of nature could permit on so great a scale. Russia has an extent considerably greater than the rest of Europe, and yet the uniformity of inhabitants and condition is so great as to attract the attention of all travelers and historians.

Reasons for the uniform development of the Russian races.

These striking facts have been the basis of the uniform development of the Russians, the community of political institutions, the establishment of peoples

Great diversity of types within the Slavonian borders.

[1] The Poles here enumerated are those living within what was Russian territory before the partition of Poland.

widely derived, but under similar conditions, throughout a country far greater in extent than any other well-organized monarchy in the world. One traveling through Great Russia might think himself brought into acquaintance with every Aryan type of mankind. Raymbaud has preserved on a single plate over forty Great Russian types, so well distinguished the one from the other that we might think them derived from great distances and from totally different environments. And yet they are all under a single government, similar in its principles and administration throughout, and all Slavonians by race descent.

What races and peoples were before the Slavs in Russia.

But the Slavonians were not the first Russian people. Russia also has her archæology, her prehistoric period, in which are found the remains of a short-head and also a long-head type of men, neither of which belong to the present era. It is, therefore, not known who were the ancestors of the Slavonians, whether they were Sarmatians or Scythians, but it is believed to be a settled fact negatively that they were not Mongolians, having few of the features of that type of men. It is chronologically in the first century that we gain our first glances at the inhabitants of these regions. The character of the movements then going on was the recession of certain peoples from the borders of the country, as though they had been driven away by a stronger people within. It was in this manner that the Northern Finns went forth from the valley of the Duina toward the West. In this region also the Sarmatians issued, from the country of the Don, and not long after the Hunnish race flung itself out of the borders of what is the present Russian empire to fall on Europe. Then came the Avars, and then others with whom we are still better acquainted.

The fountain of the barbarian dispersion considered.

We are thus face to face with one of the greatest facts of ethnic history, namely, the original seat, or fountain rather, out of which issued those barbarian races of whom Europe had cause, in former days, to be in dread, and of whom she has been wont to speak with detestation and hatred for the greater part of our era. It appears, from a survey of all the facts, that in the period extending from the first to the fourth century A. D. the Slavonic races, which had already thinly diffused themselves by migration and birth over the surface of the larger part of Northeastern Europe, began to multiply to the extent of pressing outward from a common center. If we mistake not, this was the origin of the progressive movements which were started westward. Not, indeed, that there was no Asiatic fountain. That there was an Asiatic fountain from which have flowed all the Aryan nations is the bottom axiom of all ethnology, but when we consider the nature of the countries into which the Northwestern Aryans would have precipitated themselves, the illimitable expanse, the comparatively unoccupied condition of all the European continent, we must conclude that no mere migratory disposition would have carried the moving tribes into the West until they were pressed by causes other than the original impulse.

Hardiness and fecundity of the Slavonic race.

These causes were secondary. Sometimes the character of the country prevented progress, sometimes it encouraged it. The prolific or unprolific habits conduced to the rapid or feeble expansion of a given tribe and the consequent necessity of continuing the march. The great country which we call Russia was

GREAT RUSSIAN TYPES.—Drawn by Gagniet.

1, Woman of Novgorod; 2, girl of Novgorod; 3, girl of Pskov; 4, woman of Pskov; 5, old man of Novgorod; 6, young man of Novgorod; 7, 8, girls of Pskov; 9, woman of Tver; 10, woman of Torzhok; 11, woman of Kaluga; 12, 13, citizens of Moscow; 14, 15, women of Smolensk; 16, woman of Trogobouge; 17, girl of Drogobouge; 18, girl of Viazma; 19, woman of Orel; 20, girl of Orel; 21, boy of Orel; 22, woman of Riazan; 23, girl of Riazan; 24, girl of Saratov; 25, woman of Saratov; 26, man of Kolomna; 27, woman of Kolomna; 28, girl of Kursk; 29, woman of Kursk; 30, girl of Lgov; 31, man of Kursk; 32, 33, 34, boy, woman, and girl of Saratov; 35, girl of Tula; 36, 37, women of Tula; 38, 39, workmen of Tula; 40, girl of Dankov; 41, girl of Riazan; 42, girl of Tambov; 43, 44, men of Kursk; 45, 46, girls of Lgov

not naturally fertile, but it was naturally easy, and the race was strong. If the modern ethnologist be required to select from among the races of men the type which has the greatest animal vitality, which can most endure, which can stand the severest shock, to whom even the blow of battle is not fatal, the Slav, the Russian, must be chosen at once. He has been such from antiquity, at least from the Dark Ages. With this was coupled great fecundity. It makes little difference by what name we call this vast northeastern fountain of Aryan humanity. It is sufficient that it existed. While the East supplied its emigrating tribes, the native disposition of the race, its power of increasing and enduring, constituted the secondary causes which led to the multiplication of barbarism for many centuries, until at last it loomed up, dark and ominous, along all the frontiers of the civilized parts of Europe.

It was, perhaps, in the eighth and ninth centuries that Russia received its final contributions from ultra-European sources. At this time the southwestern plains were peopled, also the valley of the Vistula. In the ninth century the Upper Vistula was populated. At that time the Lithuanians lay on the west, Finnish tribes on some borders, and Turkish tribes on others, mixed somewhat with the expanding Slavonian population. Far in the southeast the Turkish Mongolians still continued to extend their sway. The Udrains left their abodes in the Ural mountains and made their way across a large part of Europe into the valley of the Danube.

Contributions to the population of Russia.

NOMADS OF THE NORTH—TYPES.—Drawn by A. Paris, from a photograph.

It appears, however, that these movements are not as rapid and violent as might have been expected. We have said and repeated that the country was so wide and open and so thinly populated as to offer no strong opposition to the progress of migrating races. It is, however, from the consideration of such elementary conditions as are here presented that the usual analysis of the Slavonians into

The country offers no obstacles to migrating races.

three general divisions has been made. The first of these is the Western branch, including the Poles, the Czechs, and the Wends; the second is the Southern branch, of which the Serbs, the Bulgarians, the Croatians, and some others are the principal ethnic streams; last, the Eastern branch, including the Great Russians, the Little Russians, and the White Russians. To these about three million of Ukranians, or Little Russians, in East Galicia and in Poland must be added. A general survey of this distribution will show that the Slavonians proper are a great compact body, covering nearly all of the western, central, and southern portions of Russia in Europe.

From these elementary conditions we see to how great an extent the Russian people, like those of many other countries, are composite. In their progress the Slavonians have taken in a variety of Finnish nations and of Turco-Finns. Still, the Slavonian type has predominated, and this with great persistency. Archæology has been of much service along this line of investigation. Many Slavonian skulls, much more than a thousand years old, have been examined, and it has been found that their qualities are reproduced with remarkable fidelity in the skulls of the present time. We should not, however, be so greatly surprised at these results. The Slavs have, perhaps, occupied the greater part of the country between the Black sea and the Arctic ocean for from ten hundred to thirteen hundred years. We have in-

The Slavonian type composite but permanent.

UDRIAN VILLAGE OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY.—Drawn by D'Henriet.

sisted upon the singular uniformity of this region—vast marshy woods, rising into steppes, inhospitable, an unloving but not an unloved region, where man has been subject to few outer vicissitudes and consequently to few changes in himself. Did the country rise into mountains, with long and sheltered valleys stretched here and there at angles, receiving in some cases, rejecting in others, the sunshine—in other words, were the country Greece instead of Russia, Western Europe instead of Eastern Europe, we might have expected a different result. If we suppose the Russian type, that is, the Slavonian type, to have been fixed in its character before the accession of Charlemagne or of Alfred, there could be few reasons assigned since that period for any remarkable departure from the original character of the race.

Some of the incidental customs have also tended to preserve in a remarkable degree the integrity of the Russian form and features. One of these is that in emigrating or moving from place to place the Russians do not go singly or by twos and threes, but by whole villages and colonies. Moreover, the chasm between the Slavonians and the Turanian Asiatics has been a very different abyss, more wide and deep, more

Circumstances that preserve ethnic features of the Russians.

SWAMP FOREST OF RUSSIA.—Drawn by De la Charlerie, after a painting of Ruysdael.

RUSSIAN MILITARY TYPES.—Ismail Bek and his Three Tchatars.—Drawn by Thiriat, from a photograph.

difficult to pass, than are those shallower divisions which separate the different branches of the Aryan family from each other. This signifies that the Russian features would be maintained, even along the Turanian border; that they would not give and take by intermarriage freely, as do the kinspeople of Aryan derivation. And to all this we must add the overwhelming mass of Slavonic life strong enough and vast enough to draw up and extinguish any feeling and practice tends in a large degree to maintain the integrity of the Russian people around all other frontiers of the empire.

It is from these causes that a tolerable degree of purity has been maintained in the Russian race. Even when the Slavonians reinforce and improve themselves by the introduction of other ethnical types, they do so by absorption, and the rise of half-breed races among them is rarely or never known. It is declared

PEASANTS OF THE CAUCASUS.—Bourouki Women Churning.—Drawn by G. Vuillier, from a photograph.

ethnical difference that might incidentally make its appearance. There is, besides, a very strong national feeling, rather a race feeling, among the Slavonians which tends to preserve the characteristic features of the race. The Russian man, when in foreign lands he chances to see and admire a woman of another race, does not hesitate to take her in marriage, but the Russian woman has a deep antipathy and a prejudice, which she shares in common with all the other women of her race, against the marriage with a foreigner. This by those who have traveled much across the empire that the North Russian type, which one journeying eastward first strikes in the country of Novgorod, is maintained to the very shores of the Pacific, with only minor differences along the outskirts of the belt. Not that other nations are wanting in this long march across Northern Asia, but the Russians assimilate without being assimilated, and thus maintain the integrity of their race.

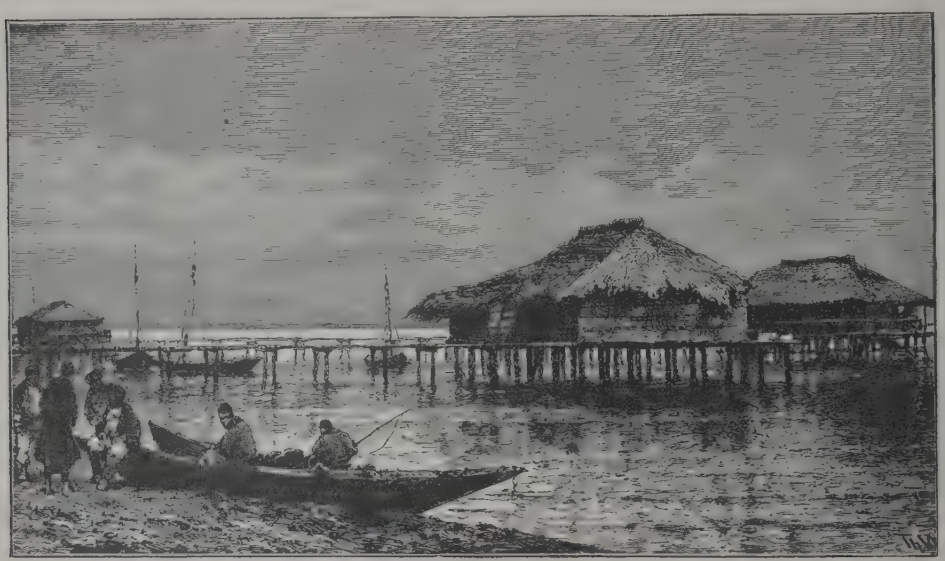
Slavs absorb qualities of other races without change.

It could but happen in the case of

peoples so multitudinous as the Slavs, and so widely distributed, that there should be certain differences in custom and habit and in the appearances of the different divisions of the race. We should remember in this connection the great climatic variation to which the race is subjected, and the modifications in environment from east to west, from north to south. We should also remember how the Russian people proper are and by the ethnic forces around him he must submit to modifications in the customs, habits, manners, and usages peculiar to his own race. Without doubt, these forces playing long upon the Slavonic character have tended to give it its present aspect, but the sap and potency of that character are in the race itself, and to this extent the race is self-determined in its features and elements of life.

Modifying influences contend with race persistency.

Of the Russians proper there are three major divisions which present ethnic



RUSSIAN VOCATIONS.—Fishing Stockade.—Drawn by Theodore Weber, from a photograph.

obliged, around all their borders and in many of the interior provinces of the empire, to mix and mingle with peoples of other races. Now it is, on one border, that the Russian must conform himself in his intercourse with the Mongolians. He must, on another frontier, communicate with many branches of the Samoyedic family. He must conform somewhat to the manners of Teutonism around the greater parts of his western boundary. With the Persians he must entertain relations social, commercial, and political. Thus alike by climate variations and national characteristics sufficiently distinct. These are (1) the Great Russians, (2) the Little Russians, and (3) the White Russians. The heart of Slavonism, its energies and greatness, lie within these divisions. We are not to forget, however, that beyond the borders of the races thus defined we must hereafter consider as Slavs the Poles, the Bulgarians, the Serbs, the Croats, the Czechs, and several other subdivisions of the race. For the present, our attention may be confined to the major

Divisions and subdivisions of the Russians proper.

families of this powerful division of mankind.

In general, the difference between the Great Russians and the Little Russians is one of latitude. The former belong to the north, and the latter to the south.

Compass of Great Russian influence; races included.

The Great Russians reach down into the center of the empire, and include the Novgorodians as one of their subdivisions. They also reach out to the northern and northeastern boundaries of the great dominion and extend far into Siberia. They sweep around many foreign elements, holding whole bodies of Tartars, Buriats, Ostiaks, and the like, within their circuit. They are more than twice as numerous as the Little Russians, and are not, on the whole, so well advanced in the human evolution. Their progress has been retarded by the inhospitalities of climate, by an original barbarity, and by the influence of the Turcomans, the Finns, and many other nonprogressive peoples whom they have included within their dominion.

Distribution and strength of Little and White Russians.

The Little Russians belong to the south. They cover the steppes and rise along the southwestern slopes of the empire, resting against the Carpathians and the Lublian range of mountains. On their eastern borders they rest against the Cossacks of the Don, who are regarded as an offshoot from the Great Russian family. They also extend into the Northern Caucasus, and have for their border province the territory of Stavropol.

Of still minor importance are the White Russians. These aggregate fewer than five million of souls, being less than one third of the numerical strength of the Little Russians or one eighth of the Great Russians. They belong to the central upland of Western Russia, where from their position they have received increments from not only the Great and the Little Russians, but also from the Lithuanians and the Poles. They are thus more infected with extraneous race influences than are the major divisions of the Slavonic family. Nor should we fail to remember that in the ethnic distinctions which we are here drawing among the Slavic races as a whole we are dealing with differences not greater than those which may be found among the Teutonic peoples of the German empire. The Great Russians, the Little Russians, and the White Russians—to say nothing of the Poles and the Lithuanians—may all be regarded as but the predominant or subordinate expressions of a common national life.

Other ethnic streams flowing into the Slavic channel.

This life, however, feels the effect of the many ethnic streams that flow with greater or less volume into its channel. The Teutonic races are preponderant in the Baltic provinces of Russia, and the influence of the Letts is felt in the same region. To this we must add a certain race contribution from the Finns and the Lapps, and a more considerable Iranic increment on the side of Persia. These elements the Slav race absorbs and assimilates with itself.

CHAPTER XCVII.—THE SLAVONIC ENVIRONMENT.

HAT, then, shall be said of the environment of this great race? First of all, Russia is the most inland of all the great countries of the earth. Her territories touch the seas here and there, but hardly reach to the ocean shores. The distance between the water areas that bound the domains of the Russian race is great. Note with the eye the immense extent of the country from the northern shores of the Black sea to the southern gulfs of the Arctic ocean. Such a region is favorable for the development of one of the strongest divisions of the human family and for the maintenance of its solidarity.

Inland character of the Slavonic territories.

We may here glance for a moment at the leading features of this immense territorial area. First of all, there is a great plateau occupying the central part of the country stretching from the borders of Thibet and Mongolia to the easternmost parts of the continent. This, however, is that Asiatic Russia whose inhabitants we have already considered.

General landscape of the Slavonic countries.

Glancing from the Caucasus on the south, and from the Ural mountains westward, we see the tremendous stretch of European Russia. The country first descends from the great mountain heights just mentioned to a flat area, and then spreads away to the Arctic ocean in the one direction and the Caspian in the other.

Within this tremendous country are interminable forests, limitless and unexplored swamps, occasional great lakes, and finally rivers of the first magnitude. The features of the country become uniform at a slight elevation above sea levels, and this uniformity is maintained over a territory capable of accommodating not one empire but many. Throughout European Russia there are few obstacles to the progress of migrating nations; few barriers against the free movement of peoples, whether civilized or barbarous; few conditions likely by physical compulsion to throw the population into masses or impede its spread over the whole extent through more than twenty degrees from north to south and fully forty-five degrees of longitude.

Special features of the Russian environment.

In the nature of the case, so great a country must show remarkable variations of climate and conditions. The climate, however, is more uniform than we should expect. All of Russia is a cold country, though on the side of Turkistan and Transcaucasia climatic phenomena are so much moderated that we note the beginnings of the cultivation of cotton and silk.

Characteristics of climate; trial of human constitution.

For the rest, there is no other country in Europe, or hardly in all the world, so trying to the constitution of man as is Russia. The human race in this great region of forest, steppe, and river is the residuum of trial by frost and snow, by storm and sleet, by wind and rain, and by the alternations of a short, hot summer, with the long and rigorous chill to which the powers of human life are subjected for months together. Physical conditions can hardly be devised more severe, and the result, as might be

COACHMAN AND BRUSH PEDDLERS—TYPES.—Drawn by Gerlier.

expected, has been the evolution of the hardiest division of mankind.

The Russian climate may be compared with that of Western Europe; but it is more intense, particularly in the fall of temperature and the long continuance of winter. Western Europe is greatly modified by the Atlantic cur-

rents and by other circumstances calculated to make warm and humid the climate. Russia feels not any of these forces, but lies under the dominion of such elements as play over the great land areas of the earth. With October, in the central and northern parts, and early November, in the south and east, the season of frost returns with great severity. All the north-bound rivers become congealed. They are converted into winding bands of glittering ice. For about one hundred and sixty-seven days on the average this rigor continues, and all travel and commerce are reduced to the method of sledges. The great Volga himself becomes a glare of crystal. Even the Don and the Dnieper for a period averaging more than a hundred days in each year are solid ice. The Vistula, far off to the west, is frozen each winter for nearly three months. The thermometer sinks lower and lower. Many times it ranges from twenty to thirty degrees below zero F. The cold is steady. At intervals great snows fall. The country is spread through the illimitable areas with a sheet of white. The solitary forests are heaped with banks of snow. Winter settles rigorously over all landscapes, and the millions of inhabitants are forced to the shelter of their huts and villages. By this trial all animal life is hardened to a degree. It becomes strong, muscular, fibrous, heavy-boned, heated throughout with the rapid and continuous consumption of oxygen.

Comparisons with Western Europe; rigors of winter.

FROZEN VOLGA AND SLEDGE BOAT.—Drawn by D'Henriet.

With the latter part of April or the beginning of May this rigor relaxes rather suddenly, and the flush of a warming and all-pervading spring supervenes. The rivers melt. The snows subside. There is an epoch of water and slush on plain and hillslope; then a sudden burst of vegetation. It is one of the hardships of the climate that a returning rigor generally comes with the latter part of May with severe frosts and freezing — a circumstance greatly detrimental to the interest of the Russian farmers.

The spring flush and beauty of nature in summer.

When this peril is passed in safety warm weather sets in in earnest. The Russian spring, though rather brief, is cheering and beautiful. Nature bursts forth anew. All forms of animal and vegetable life revive in vigor and beauty. The ensuing summer is really hot. The months of July and August show a temperature as elevated as that which prevails in the western parts of Europe. The heats, though trying, are perhaps not as enervating as those which supervene in Southern Germany and France, and the continuation of the summer trial is much more brief.

SPRING ON THE KALVA.—Drawn by Bazin.

The conditions which we have here described are intensified, especially in the direction of cold, throughout those parts of Russia that lie off against the arctic waters. On the other side the conditions are greatly ameliorated toward the Black sea shores and the Caucasus. In the arctic regions we come to a coast country as high up as the seventieth parallel of latitude. Here, of course, frigid conditions have prevailed, and the vegetable life is reduced to shrubs and lichens, to dwarf willows, northern birches, and arctic mosses. Only in the more favored localities do vegetable products appear analogous to those of the more habitable parts of Europe.

Severity of arctic coasts; dwarfing of vegetation.

By far the larger area of Russia is that of the forest. It extends from the borders of the arctic region just described far and indefinitely to the south. It is one of the most broadly spread forest districts of the world. Certainly a region so vast may not be uniform throughout. The forest fluctuates according to latitude and elevation above the sea. It is also broken by the recurrence of great swamps which lie here and there, and by those cleared and cultivated areas which have fallen under the dominion of man. In some parts there are lakes, but the country is not in this particular so well supplied as is the great central region of North America.

Vast area of forest swamps; prevailing tree-growths.

In other parts the forests decline into thickets of undergrowth and vast spaces of native meadow not unlike the minor prairies of our own country, but more solitary, less beautiful.

Among the prevailing forest trees may be mentioned the oak and the fir. The birch also flourishes through a great extent of country. The beech is able to maintain itself only as far eastward as Poland and on the shores of the Black sea. In the southern parts the forest, though solitary and gloomy in winter—though almost impenetrable and seemingly forbidding to the adventure and energies of men—is, nevertheless, decorated by nature in summertime with a vast array of flowers and blossoming shrubs. The sudden spring brings beauty to nearly eight hundred species of flowering plants and trees. It is needless to point out the restful and inspiring vicissitude which this sudden and

Pleasing reäctions of nature lead to song and sentiment.

VILLAGE CHURCH AND LANDSCAPE OF URALSK.—Drawn by Karl Vogel.

maple is found. The larch, the cedar, and the Siberian pine constitute many of the forests of the Middle Urals, and extend far to the north. As a rule, the forest growth is coniferous in character, but associated with the conifers are the varieties of tree-growth already mentioned and many others, such as the ash, the alder, and the wild cherry.

It is not needed that we should dwell upon the character of the Russian woods. Information on such topics is easily accessible from many sources. It is sufficient to point out the fact that the Russian widespread efflorescence furnishes to the senses of mankind. Ultimately we shall expect that the reäctions of nature in this particular will favor the development of the sentiments and poetical faculties. The recurrence of dream and vision, of song and love, must needs be expected in every land where nature, even though she visit the earth with a long and desolate winter, returns with a smile, and garlanded with flowers sits on steep and river bank.

No sketch, however imperfect, of Russia may pass as adequate that does not

include some reference to the steppes. All the southern part of European Russia is embraced in the steppe region. In the extreme south, that is, from the borders of the Black sea and the foot-hills of the Caucasus, reaching northward into West Russia and the southern parts of Great Russia, are the steppes proper. These consist of high-lying plains of varied surface, traversed with streams and valleys of small extent, and bearing a fertile soil. The leading feature of the landscape is its treeless character. All of this part of the country is devoid of tree-growth except in the valleys, which mark the courses of summer streams. It is the peculiarity of the situation that such woods are developed below the line of vision. The observer, standing on the upland, sees only an expanse of undulating country more irregular in surface than the American prairies, but having much of their general appearance.

Aspects and vegetation of the steppes.

The vegetation of the steppes in spring is green and abundant. This, however, does not hold with the oncoming of summer, the green of the landscape gives away, and the steppes, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, take something of the desert aspect. Closer scrutiny, however, will show here and there considerable areas of rich vegetation, having deeper root and capable of bearing the summer heat. The valleys, with their strips of woods, also remain green,

TRAVERSING THE STEPPES.—Drawn by Vaumart, after a sketch of Madame de Bourboulon.

and the country, even in August, is not disagreeable or forbidding to the eye.

We may here insist on the fertility of this part of European Russia. Here the cereals flourish. Rye and wheat and barley grow according to planting and cultivation in most of the steppe country throughout Western Russia and as far north as the southern districts of Finland. Corn has also here a footing. The extent of the plantation of this great grain has widened to a large part of Central Russia, so that in the essential of grain the country has nothing to fear.

Large product of the cereals and fruits in Russia.

The same may be said of fruits. Of course all fruit trees have to struggle against the rigors of the Russian climate; but they, like the other plants and the animals, have become hardened in the environment and quickened in their energies by the limitations of the brief summer. Apples and pears are produced throughout a great part of the empire, and the smaller fruits are abundant.

VILLAGE NEAR MOSCOW.—Drawn by A. de Bar.

It would be impossible here to enumerate the vegetable products and varieties of animal life prevailing within the borders of so vast a region as the Russian empire. We pass on to consider the race of man as adjusted to this environment. The Russians are notable for many peculiarities of their ethnic life. One of the principal of these is the strongly agricultural and rural character of the population. Of all the European nations the Russians have shown least disposition to congregate in towns—the strongest disposition to hold the country as against the municipality.

Prevailing disposition of Russians against municipality.

Thus by way of comparison we may lay Russia alongside of the United States. In the latter country, according to the census of 1890, we have, with an approximate aggregate of sixty-four million of people, twenty-five cities of the first class; that is, twenty-five cities having a population in excess of a hun-

Comparison with United States; the country life.

dred thousand. The Russian empire, with a total population nearly thirty-six per cent in excess of that of the United States, has only twelve cities of the first class. Of the Russians, no more than nine per cent of the whole live in towns. The fifty Russian governments contain only about six hundred towns, and many of these are so small that they may be more properly designated as villages. It is estimated that fully sixty-eight million of the European Russians live in the country, constituting as they do the vastest rural population in the civilized world, unless we should designate as such the closely massed peoples of China.

Preference for the village community; its advantages.

While the Russians thus by preference and by the suggestions of their territories dwell outside of towns, it should be remarked that they have a strong disposition to live in small villages. Such settlements are the characteristic feature of the social estate of the Slavs in Europe. Without doubt, there are some advantages to be derived from the village method of life. The aggregation of small clusters of houses and families furnishes support and sympathy. There is a small local life in the Russian hamlet which conduces to the welfare of the members of the community. The means of subsistence are more easily procured and kept in such a situation than when distributed absolutely house by house through the open country. Notwithstanding the vast mass or aggregate of the Russian population, it is not so great as the country over which it is distributed. If the population did not gather in villages, the distribution would be so sparse as to make all progress and comfort extremely difficult of attainment. The village system is an evolution. In European Russia there are approximately five hundred and fifty-five thousand villages, containing more than ten and a half million of houses. In these is established the body of the Russian race, and here the Russian character, manners, and method of life may be studied in its native development.

CHAPTER XCVIII.—SOCIETY AND LANGUAGE.

THE social system of the Russian peasantry differs not greatly from that of other rural populations of the Aryan races. The law of the sexual union is monogamy. One man and one woman are joined for the foundation of the family. This is done in accordance with that natural preference which has prevailed, with more or less stringency, among all the Indo-European peoples. The law found its highest expression in the civilization of the Romans and the barbarism of the Teutonic race. With the latter the native impulses of the Slavs are in close affinity. As in the case of Rome, the native tendency has been assisted and sanctioned by the religion of the race. The monogamy of the Romans entered easily into combination with primitive Christianity. The latter has taken up and strongly promoted the principles which were innate in the Roman race. It is in the light of this fact that the monogamic impress

Slavic monogamy harmonizes with that of Rome.

MARRIAGE CEREMONY.—Drawn by G. Vuillier.

has been left so strongly on all the civilized peoples of the West. The Greek Church, hardly less than the Roman, espoused the cause of single marriage. The Slavs on their conversion readily accepted the teachings of the Church,

and multiple marriage has found no foothold under the dominion of either family administration among the Slavs are thus almost as closely allied with

RUSSIAN PRIMARY SCHOOL.—Drawn by Gerlier.

the secular or the ecclesiastical arm of Russia.

The institution of marriage and the Greek Christianity as are the corresponding facts in Western Catholicism. It should be noted, however, that the

Russian laws of divorce are more liberal than those of Rome, and the Greek Catholic priesthood have by no means so complete an espionage of the family and dominion over it as does the Roman hierarchy in the society of Catholic countries.

Greek Church and the family; society lags behind.

The social life of Russia has lagged behind. The evolution of a civilized condition has been as slow in this particular as in the matter of political emancipation. The backward condition of all social institutions has been shown painfully in the matter of education. It is only within the present time that primary instruction has prevailed sufficiently to influence the general character of the people. As late as the ninth decade of our century there were fewer than two million of children in the primary schools of European Russia.[1] The secondary grades of instruction were scarcely in a better state of development. At the time referred to there were a hundred and eighty gymnasia in the country. To these were added nearly fifty normal schools, and more than that number of theological seminaries. Of secondary schools under the grade of gymnasia there are about eight hundred and forty in European Russia. It is needless to point out to the American reader the total inadequacy of these institutions for anything like the general or liberal education of the Russian people.

Backward estate of education among the Russians.

The same paucity of means should be noted in the higher education. At the present time there are scarcely more than seven Russian universities properly so-called. In these about six hundred professors give instruction to more than ten thousand students. It has been for a long time the policy of the government to educate the sons of the aristocracy and thus to improve the resources of the governing classes. Under the patronage of the autocracy, the universities have reached a high degree of proficiency, rivaling those of the German empire.

The Russian universities favor liberalism.

Strange it is, however, that these seats of learning are constantly invaded with the liberalizing tendencies of the age. The students themselves, whether issuing from aristocratic families or from the homes of the poor, take quickly and enthusiastically to the suggestion and possibility of freedom. The professors go over constantly to the side of the people and strain toward democracy. The government is much annoyed with the liberalizing tendency of the universities, and one edict after another has been found necessary in order to restrain them from becoming the leading factors in the revolutionary passions of the age.

It is from this point of view that we may properly appreciate the tremendous ferment of the Russian mind. All mind tends to free itself by culture. The despotic organization of society and intellectual freedom can not coëxist. At least they can not dwell together in amity. The one assails the other. The despotic force attacks freedom of thought because it sees therein an actinism which must necessarily dissolve all arbitrary and irrational contrivance of which itself is the most conspicuous example. Free thought, on the other hand, sees in every autocracy and contrivance of tyranny a thing which must to itself appear both cruel and absurd.

Philosophy of the ferment of the Slavic mind.

[1] If the same ratio holds in Russia as in the United States, there are in the former country not fewer than twenty-five million school children between the ages of six and twenty-one years!

Possibly it is because of the absurdity of despotism that free thought most vehemently attacks it. Reason assails unreason and puts it away. It does this as much because of the unreason that is in it as because of any immorality that may exist in the institution or principle which it attacks.

In no other country—illuminated dimly by the torchlight and starlight of civilization—are these principles so strikingly illustrated as in Russia. The Russians must educate. If they educate they must emancipate themselves. The emancipation, if it come, must sweep away much that now is, beginning with the government itself! Hence the warfare between the Slavic mind and its civil and political environment. The autocracy sees the necessity of moving forward along the lines of that universal progress which has pervaded the nations. Not to do so is to fall back toward barbarism and to lose rank among the civilized states of the world. But the autocracy, if it educate, does but sharpen a knife for its own throat! How painful, therefore, is the dilemma of that unfortunate power—civil, political, ecclesiastical—which, born out of the compulsion of a barbarous past, has come into an inheritance which it can not maintain without destroying itself!

Hard dilemma of the Russian autocracy.

MILITARY EDUCATION.—Examination of Cadets.—Drawn by Bocourt.

We may now go forward to consider some of the leading developments of this great race. From the languages spoken it has taken the name of Slavic, or Slavonic. A study of these languages has shown the race-affinity of the Russian peoples and the cognate nations with the Teutonic branch of mankind, and more largely with the Aryan divi-

Relations of Slavic to general scheme of language.

sion of the human race. As already indicated, it has been a matter of dispute whether the Letto-Slavic stem should be set into the Teutonic after the departure of the latter from the greater western branch of Aryanism, or whether the Slavic division should be derived directly from the old Indo-European stock.

A MOLLAH EXPOUNDING THE LAW.—Drawn by H. Rousseau.

Probably the Germanic and Slavic races flowed together for a certain distance in time and space before they separated into their respective channels.

These views are supported by a study of the Teutonic and Slavic languages. Perhaps the latter, of all the great divisions of Aryan speech, has received the least critical attention. The lateness of its literary development and the remoteness of the races speaking Slavonic dialects have led to a neglect of their study, and at the present time much remains to be done before their character and capacities are well understood.

We may here remark, in the first place, upon the great volume of Slavic speech. It is interesting and instructive to compare the races of mankind on the linguistic basis. Of the Indo-European peoples the most populous branch as determined by language is the Indic, or Hindu, branch. The populations speaking dialects of Aryan speech in the great peninsula of India aggregate, perhaps, two hundred million souls. The immense extent of this race development as measured by language has been overlooked by the Western peoples, even by their scholars and thinkers.

Extent of races speaking Slavic; comparisons.

Next to the Indic population, the English-speaking race is largest in volume. The peoples who are classified together on the broad platform of the English language number much more than a hundred million. Third in the list as determined by the classification of languages, that is, of Indo-European speech, come the Slavs. The Slavic-speaking peoples certainly number more than eighty million. Indeed, it is not certain but that the Panslavic race presses hard upon, or possibly surpasses, the English-speaking family.

Not far behind the Slavs are the Germans, or, more largely, the Teutonic division of the Aryan race. These aggregate about seventy million. It is, of course, difficult to draw the line of demarkation around the true Germanic area. The languages called Teutonic branch off in this direction and that, and flourish abroad with more striking developments than even in the native Germanic seats. After the Germans come the French-speaking race, and then the Persic division; finally, the Spanish-speaking division, the Portuguese, the Wallachian, etc. The Slavs are thus seen to represent by the criterion of a common language the third group of races belonging to the Indo-European division of mankind.

Among the various Slavic peoples there has been shown great variety in linguistic development. It is claimed that the Bulgarian is the most ancient form of Slavic speech. Its literary development may be dated from Saint Cyril's translation of the Bible, about the close of the ninth century. Already the Teutonic race had attained a standard literary form in the Mœso-Gothic of Ulfilas. Modern Bulgarian has departed greatly from the ancient standard, in so much that the Cyril Bible is designated as Old Slavonic.

Variety of linguistic development among the Slavs.

Next in order of development came the Russian languages proper, that is, Great Russian and Little Russian or Ruthenian. Both of these went forward by fair stages into literary form. Fragments of such development are found as early as the eleventh century. Next in order came the Servian, and then the Croatian, the Carinthian, the Styrian, etc. All of these tongues have developed into literary form, and are now fixed as the established dialects of a common Slavonic stock. In the West we have the Polish and the Bohemian languages, with their fine evolution into classical forms. The Polish tongue is

of late, though precocious, emergence. It dates from the fourteenth century. The Bohemian goes back to the tenth, while the Servian, Moravian, and the like, are as late as the sixteenth century in their evolution. Thus by a series of stages the Slavonic tongues have moved out of the barbaric into the literary character.

IMPERIAL LIBRARY.—Drawn by De la Charlerie.

We may here remark upon that great movement of modern times, namely, the attempt at a Panslavic union. Many of the leading minds of the Russian race have devoted themselves to the cause of joining all the Slavs in a single great family on the basis of a common language and institutions. This project has found strong advocates throughout all the Slavonian countries, especially in those that lie along the borders of the Germanic and other races. Thus, for example, the Bohemian and Hungarian Slavs, as well as the Servian and many of the Poles, have found themselves in a condition where they were likely to be absorbed by other peoples. Native pride of race has led them to desire the maintenance of such a Slavic union as would maintain the nationality

Possible union of all Slavs on the basis of language.

of the race as a whole. The Russian government has been averse to such a movement, for the union of all Slavs would make the autocracy less secure than it is in its present state.

Democracy hopes for a Pan-Slavic federation.

It should be noted that the family feuds of the various Slavic peoples have been bitter and persistent. Such disagreements might, perhaps, be done away by Slavic federation. Underlying the project has been from the first the secret hope of democracy. The leaders of the proposed federative union have been those advanced and revolutionary thinkers who have constituted so great a menace to the established order through all the eastern and more lately the central parts of Europe.

It were impossible within the limits of our treatise to do more than to sketch the general features of the Slavic tongues. The great branches of this linguistic stem are the Russian, the Polish, the Bohemian, and the Servian. If we look for general features we may find them in that framework of the formal language which goes by the name of grammar. The Slavic languages agree with most of the divisions of Aryan speech in having three genders. They accord with Latin in omitting the article. None of them except Bulgarian employ the article, and Bulgarian indicates that part of speech only by affixing it to the noun. Slavic has seven cases, adding to the Latin paradigm an instrumental. It agrees with the Greek and the Sanskrit in presenting a dual number. The Slavic verb has, in general, a formal development in analogy with the corresponding part of speech in Latin.

Accords of Slavic with other Aryan tongues.

Deeper down than this mere grammatical framework we note some of the peculiarities of Slavic utterance. Of all the modern languages Russian is poorest in its vocalic element. It seems to have come as near as possible to a linguistic form in which vowels and diphthongs are omitted. At the same time the consonantal development is very strong. The consonants are thrown together in such masses and combinations as to make their utterance by Western tongues al-

Poverty of Russian in its vocalic elements.

Седьмой день пасхи 5642 года (1882) Въ лихорадочныхъ заботахъ и приготовленіяхъ къ предстоящему отъѣзду провелъ я этотъ день. Какое-то доселѣ мнѣ невѣдомое, незнакомое чувство, словно желѣзные тиски, щемило мнѣ грудь; сердце билось усиленнѣе, кровь быстрѣе текла по жиламъ моимъ; мысли въ головѣ роились во множествѣ, путались и не давали мнѣ сосредоточиться на чемъ-нибудь. Это былъ роковой для меня день, въ который я готовъ былъ сдѣлать чрезвычайно рискованный шагъ, готовъ былъ привести въ исполненіе рѣшенный мною нѣсколько мѣсяцевъ тому назадъ вопросъ объ эмиграціи, объ оставленіи родины и отечества.

Солнце склонилось уже къ закату, когда я возвратился въ домъ родителей, посвятивъ цѣлый день прощальнымъ визитамъ. Мать моя неподвижно сидѣла на стулѣ, опустивъ голову на грудь и смачивая своими слезами лежавшую передъ нею большую еврейскую книгу. По приходѣ моемъ она вслухъ стала читать, какъ будто про себя только. Услышавъ половину фразы, я ужъ догадался, что рѣчь идетъ объ исходѣ евреевъ изъ Египта, о жестокости къ нимъ новаго фараона, не знавшаго ихъ. Но она вдругъ отвела лицо отъ книги, и слезы потекли еще обильнѣе. Ее, видимо, мучилъ не вопросъ объ оставленіи ея предками ненавистнаго имъ Египта, а болѣе близкій ея материнскому сердцу—о моемъ отъѣздѣ, Богъ знаетъ куда и насколько, и опасеніе, что она должна считать меня для себя заживо похороненнымъ.

SPECIMEN PAGE OF RUSSIAN BOOK.

most impossible. The sibilant element is extremely developed; of all the consonants only *f* is wanting.[1] Nor may we easily discover why it is that this easily produced element is dropped from a language so highly consonantal.

The words of Slavic avoid the vocalic initial. The vowels *a* and *e* are rarely found at the beginnings of words. Strangely enough, the liquids *l* and *r* have a vocalic or semi-vocalic office in the Slavic languages. This must be taken into consideration in the attempted pronunciation of Russian words, many of which employ the letters referred to in such manner as to make unpronounceable combinations except by changing the *l* or the *r* to the vowel character.

Phonetic and alphabetical peculiarities.

The Slavic languages have great strength and capacity. The vocabularies are ample. The character of the speech indicates most clearly the robustness, we might almost say the ferocity, of the race. All smoothness and melody are sacrificed for force and vehemence. These qualities we have already discovered in the Germanic languages, but in Slavic they are exaggerated to a degree. Perhaps no other living tongue is more forceful, energetic, almost rude in strength and energy.

Forceful and energetic character of the language.

All the Slavic races have in recent times become literary. In the earlier ages of our era Latin was the vehicle of literary expression in the Eastern as well as the Western dominions of Christianity. Wherever the faith spread there Latin literature was borne. It was the policy of the Church to use its own language in dealing with the barbarian nations. It was long before she would admit—if even to the present day she has admitted—the safety and expediency of adopting the vernacular tongues of the Gentiles. In the Slavic countries Greek also entered as a vehicle of literary expression, but to a more limited degree than Latin. At length, in the later Middle Ages, the native tongues began to assert themselves, and at the present time the volume of Slavic letters is inferior only to the great product of the Western European nations and of America. The writings of the Russians now extend to almost every branch of inquiry, though the progress in polite letters, such as prose, fiction, poetry, fable, and the like, has been more marked than in the realms of profound research.

Slavic literature behind that of the West.

It is not here that we may enter upon a review of Russian literature. It is sufficient that we note its general character. The literary evolution of the Slavs have extended to nearly every variety of composition. It began with the ballad and the song, and has ended with history and science. The language has shown its capacity to bear all kinds of literary composition. It is likely that epic poetry on the side of the imagination, and speculative philosophy on the side of abstract reason, are relatively the feeblest products of the Russian mind. The drama flourishes. Lyric poetry abounds. Folklore and romance are eagerly developed into literary forms. In particular, the fable has adapted itself to the dispositions of the race and found a happy lodgment in the language.

General character of the Slavic literary evolution.

[1] The omission of the *f* in Russian seems to be a linguistic fact peculiar to the eastern parts of Europe. It is rather a geographical than an ethnical phenomenon. The ancient Greek tribes brought their digamma (F) into Europe with them. They used it at the first, but it died out of the alphabet and the language. If we mistake not, the same thing has occurred in Russian.

CHAPTER XCIX.—ARTS AND CIVIL INSTITUTIONS.

WITHOUT further comment on the linguistic development of the Russian race, or races, we may pass on to the technology and arts of this great division of mankind. It were impossible to do more than refer vaguely to the tremendous industries of the Slavic peoples. The occupations of these races extend to almost every kind of industrial life known to civilized and half-civilized nations.

Circumstances have favored a wide industrial development.

The wide extent of territory, the immense volume of the population, its varying relations to sea and land, and the energetic, and withal progressive, spirit of the people have conspired to extend their industrial activities to a large part of the productions of human skill.

In architecture, the Russians stand midway between Europe and Asia.

Midway position of the Slavs in architecture.

There are traces of the influence of Eastern and Western building in nearly all that the Slavs have produced, and other traces which belong to the native genius of the race. The building capacities of these peoples are seen at the best in the great cities, such as Moscow and St. Petersburg — the former representing the more ancient, and the latter the more recent, building instincts of the people. Moscow looks rather to Asia than to Europe, while St. Petersburg is almost wholly European. The great buildings of the one stand for the sixteenth and the structures of the other for the nineteenth century.

In the metallurgic arts the Russians, and more generally the Slavic peoples, have reached approximately their best results. The Russian manufacturers of metal products compare favorably with those of Western Europe. Since the close of the seventeenth century there has been a vast development of the iron manufacture through a great part of the Russian empire. The ores of the country are superior to those of almost any other part of the world, and the processes of manufacture have been steadily improved until the markets of the West have been obliged to supply from Russian sources a considerable fraction of their iron wares. Many of the correlated industrial arts have also flourished, or begun to flourish, in Russia as well as in Poland, Bulgaria, Bohemia, and nearly all the Slavic countries.

Superiority of the Russians in the metallurgic arts.

It is in the direction of commerce that the Russian empire and the Slavic race have fallen behind in competition with the great nations of Western Europe. For this, two or three sufficient reasons may be assigned. In the first place, the Western nations had already entered the commercial stage of development before the emergence of Russia from barbarism. A great advantage was thus gained on the score of priority. *Dux ducit*—the leader leads. A nation once gaining possession of the sea and a knowledge of the lines of communication and methods of transmarine trade will readily hold such advantage, keeping back new aspirants from the profits arising therefrom.

The race has fallen behind in commercial competition.

In the second place, the situation of

Russia, both geographical and political, has conspired against her and prevented her commercial development. Her vast territories and small seacoast have combined to check the commercial impulse. The want of means of communication from the interior has hindered the accumulation of the resources of trade at those few points from which only foreign commerce might be undertaken. Great have been the impediments in these particulars. The establishment of the old capital of the empire and central seat of the Slavic nations at Moscow tended to draw back the energies of all the Russians from the seaward draft. The policy long pursued by the government concurred with these geographical and political disadvantages. Not until the beginning of the eighteenth century did the commercial life obtain the favor of the czars, and then for the first time the obstructions to that manner of enterprise were discovered.

Vainly did Czar Peter beat against the barriers of nature. Vainly did he seek an outlet for the energies of his race and people in the direction of the seaboard. Vainly did he transfer his capital to the cold gulf of the north. The results did not, and could not, answer to his expectation and genius. To the present time the unfavorable situation has not been overcome, and the Slavic race, third in strength among the great peoples west of the Urals and Altais, has not been able to obtain its

ARCHITECTURE.—Palace of Paul I at Moscow.—Drawn A. de Bar.

Czar Peter attempts to promote commercial interest.

proportional part of the world's commerce.

In these facts we may see once more illustrated the truth that every nation is determined and limited in its activities by the conditions of its physical environment. Great Britain and Holland were preördained by nature to be the seats of a world-wide commerce. Russia was in like manner predestined to an internal life. Possibly she may yet by way of the Mediterranean reach the broad warm waters of the inviting ocean; but for the present age at least the Slavic peoples must content themselves with production and internal trade.

Russia destined by nature to an internal life.

MINERS OF KATAR—TYPES.—Drawn by Thiriat, from a photograph.

It belongs to general history to trace the rise of the Czars of Muscovy to their present broad political dominion. The Russian government, now covering all but the outposts of the Slavic races, is by far the greatest autocracy in the world From one point of view it seems to be the greatest anachronism. This, however, like all other aspects of the aggregated life of man, is but a natural evolution from preëxisting conditions. It is hardly within the range of rational statement for the historian or ethnographer to speak of unnatural circumstances in the development of the social and political life of man.

The autocracy a natural result of conditions.

The Russian government preserves in Europe that personal and autocratic

aspect which belonged of old to all forms of government whatsoever. It shows forth the czar as an absolute monarch, impersonating the state and ruling by his own right. He represents the administration of authority over all the Russians. In him are united the converging lines of legislative, executive, and judicial power. If constitution as applied to government is to be defined as the aggregate of those principles and rules of conduct by which the governing power is restrained and confined to certain methods of activity, then it may be truly said that Russia has no constitution at all. All the councils and ministers and bureaus, as well as the legislative bodies, look up to the czar and, at least theoretically, execute his will. By him the ministers are named and invested with their several rights and functions. The czar even interprets for the officers of his government the sense of the law, and the interpretation, even as against the letter of the law, must be accepted.

Philosophy of the czar's place in civil society.

Looking more attentively at this great autocracy, we note its principal organs. These, after the czar himself, consist of four great councils. The first is the Ministerial Council; the second, the Imperial Council; the third, the Senate; and the fourth, the Holy Synod. The first of these bodies is composed of a committee of the various appointed ministers. The Imperial Council consults with the czar in the formulation of the

The four great councils and their functions.

RUSSIAN COMMERCE.—Roadstead of Kronstadt.—Drawn by De la Charlerie.

THE AUTOCRACY.—Coronation of a Czar.—Drawn by Flameng.

imperial edicts. It is the business of the Senate to discuss and promulgate such laws as are handed down from the Imperial Council. Since the senators themselves are appointed by the czar they can hardly be expected to oppose his will. It is their business rather to find out his will and to express it in laws

for the empire. The Holy Synod may be likened to the lords spiritual of Great Britain. The body has the jurisdiction of the religious affairs of the people, and is composed of the bishops and metropolitans of the cities and provinces.

It is of interest to analyze somewhat the great body of Russian society and to discover, if we may, its parts. The unit of the system is not the individual, not the citizen and voter, but the village. Each village, with or without a surrounding territory, is regarded as a community. The name of the unit is *Mir*. Several of the mirs are combined into what is called a volost, or shire, over which an alderman is elected by the peasants. This officer is subject to the local police of the empire, and, though chosen on the democratic principle, is completely under the control of the superior agents of the government.

The village unit and features of local government.

A good deal of spontaneity, however, is locally attained under the given system. There are justices of the peace, courts of higher and lower grade, and provincial assemblies. It is sufficient for the government that all such institutions shall hold a modest and unvarying subserviency to the imperial will. The sobranje—more properly sobraniye—is composed of three elements, the first of which includes the large landed proprietors. These are virtually barons, and answer to the corresponding class in the English House of Lords. The second division of the sobraniye consists of the representatives of the artisan and mercantile classes, as distinguished from the true commons, or representatives of the peasants.

IMPERIAL SOCIETY.—Reception at Court.—Drawn by Gerlier.

As to the underofficers, the Russian

people in great measure choose their own. They elect their justices of the peace, and also the members of their *Zemstvos*, or representative assemblies. There are local executives for the provinces, and an administration which supervises highways, health, and education. The question of taxation—always a critical matter in government—is discussed in the zemstvos, but the imperial authority is so diffused as to make the action of the representative assemblies of little practical effect in deciding the rates of taxation. The governors have authority over the representative bodies, and may dissolve them if they carry the principles of reform and democracy to the extent of conflicting with the imperial will.

The under-officers and their functions.

The Russian empire is divided into fifty subordinate governments. Besides these, there are ten local administrations in Poland. Each of these subordinate governments is subdivided into from eight to fifteen districts. The governor generals are appointed by the imperial court, and are regarded as the organs of central authority. Each governor has his police, his taxgatherers, and administrative officers according to the wants of the various departments. There is thus established a system of consolidated rule which branches everywhere and twines itself around the local institutions of the people. The administration, as a whole, is designed to perpetuate itself, and to make secure the pillars of the empire. Under this general theory of government there is as much local justice and liberality as may be conceded to a people who long for political liberties and have them not.

The fifty administration districts of the empire.

The present judicial system of Russia is a part of the general reform undertaken by the czar in the years 1863–64. It was at that time that the serfs were emancipated, and many other measures adopted looking to the abolition of the abuses which the empire had inherited from the past. All went well in this movement until it came to have a political bearing. Then the government was obliged to become suddenly rigorous. It was involved in all the dilemmas and perplexities which must, in the nature of the case, embarrass a liberalizing despotism. So far as the administration of justice was concerned, that was greatly reformed. The jury system was established, but over the jury there was set a court of cassation which might undo the verdict of the jury at will. The whole aspect is, in a word, that of an arbitrary power, conceding what it may to the people, but at the same time reserving the right to undo and annul every movement of the democracy which seems to touch the imperial system.

Reform of judicial system in 1863; the jury.

We have spoken above of the Holy Synod as one of the four great councils of the emperor. As the name implies, the synod has supervision of the religious affairs of the empire; but the czar is at the head of not only the synod, but in a larger sense of the Church. Theoretically he is not a pope over Greek Catholicism as is the Roman pontiff in the West. His position is rather analogous to that of the English monarch in his relation to the Anglican Church. Russia is a religious country. It is filled with churches and monasteries, supported in large measure at public expense. The Church is a part of the governmental system. There are nearly forty thousand priests in the empire, and a vast array of monks and nuns. The wealth of the Church establishment

Place of the czar in the ecclesiastical scheme; the Greek Church.

is second only to that of Rome and England, and the influence of the organization over the people and the state is far-reaching, if not positively predominant.

METROPOLITAN OF ST. PETERSBURG.
Drawn by Pelcoq.

It is not here that we would recount the origin and history of Greek Catholicism. Of this it may suffice to say that it is a branch of the common Christianity which was established at Rome and Constantinople. The schism which separated the Greek Church from the Western Catholics began with the rejection by the one and the acceptance by the other of the decrees and doctrines of the Council of Ephesus. That assembly was the third of the great œcumenical councils of the Church. The first two—those of Nice and Constantinople—had been accepted by Eastern and Western Christians alike. After that, with the schism just referred to, the Church divided into an Eastern and Western branch. The period of estrangement and separation reaches historically from the fifth to the eleventh century, at the latter of which dates the rupture became final. Henceforth the Greek Church pursued its own course, while the Roman Church, holding itself to be orthodox and all the rest a heresy, spread and established itself throughout the countries of the West.

The Russian Church has its origin from the close of the tenth century. In the year 992 Prince Vladimir was converted to Christianity. At first the seat of the Eastern Church was at Kiev,

RUSSIAN CLERGY.—Drawn by Gerlier.

but afterwards at Vladimir. Finally, in 1320, the metropolitans established themselves at Moscow, which became henceforth, until the age of Peter the Great, the ecclesiastical as well as the civil capital of the empire. For several centuries there was a strong tendency to elevate the principal patriarch of the Greek Church to the rank of a pope. This growth continued until it conflicted with the will and purpose of Czar Peter, who, in 1721, having forbidden the election of a new patriarch, appointed a Holy Synod to have supervision of the Church instead. Thus originated that great council which at the present time constitutes one of the leading ministries of the empire.

Origin and development of the Holy Synod.

Meanwhile, the schismatic movement which separated the East from the West extended through nearly all the countries held by Slavic peoples. In Servia a Church was established claiming autonomy; also in Roumania, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece. The vicissitudes of these various ecclesiastical establishments have been as great as the transformations of civil and political society. On the whole, the disposition of the Churches in the various countries referred to has been analogous to that which we have seen in the Catholic kingdoms of the West, namely, a tendency toward independence. As England achieved complete ecclesiastical autonomy, and as France, in the Middle Ages, asserted from time to time her independence of Rome and was, with difficulty, prevented from founding an establishment of her own, so in the East the like disposition has been shown in the Bulgarian, Roumanian, Servian, and Hellenic Churches.

Tendency to independence in the Churches of the East.

The peculiarity of the Greek Catholic Church is its less elaborate development of creed and doctrine. It plants itself on the expositions of the first two ecumenical councils, and, to a limited extent, on the doctrines declared by subsequent councils; but the Greek establishment knows little of the elaborate orthodoxy of Rome. The Eastern Church thus preserves better than the Western the original simplicity of Christianity. Such was the condition of dogma and practice throughout the East that at the time of the Reformation the Protestant insurgents were not unhopeful of joining themselves to the Greek Church, or it to them, in a common cause against Rome. The overtures that were made by the Reformers were, however, unacceptable to the patriarchs of Constantinople, and the various parties pursued henceforth each its own way to independence. It may, however, be noted that Protestantism, as the same is professed in America and Germany, lies much nearer to the orthodox Greek faith than either the one or the other lies to the dogma of Rome.

Greek doctrine less elaborate than that of Rome.

The liturgical development in Eastern Christianity has run a course similar to that in the Roman Catholic Church. The East as well as the West has had liturgies many, but in either case they have finally been reduced to one. Each has had its sacred language. What Latin has been to Rome, that Old Greek has been to the Church of the East. It should be observed that Old Slavonic has contended more successfully with Greek for the place of the liturgical language among the Slavic nations than has any Western language within the pale of Rome against the Latin of the credo. The early translation of the Bible into Bulgarian, by Saint Cyril, gave to

Liturgies and language of the Eastern Church.

the Old Slavonic tongue a sanctity for religious expression which neither the language of Luther nor the idiom of Saint James's scholars has been able to attain.

Finally, we may note the universality of the Greek Orthodox Church throughout the Slavic countries. The ascendency of Rome in the West is less distinct and universal. Even in such Latin countries as Spain and Portugal the prevalence of the orthodox faith is not so nearly coëxtensive with the peoples professing it as is the reign of Greek Catholicism in the East. In Russia Proper, inclusive of Poland and Siberia, there are nearly sixty million of Greek Catholics. To our surprise we find the next largest aggregate of orthodox Greeks in the Turkish empire. These are estimated at ten million. Then follow Roumania with four and a half million, Austria with three million, Servia and Greece with about one and a third million each, and finally Montenegro with a hundred and thirty thousand. We thus reach an aggregate of more than seventy-eight million of Greek Catholics. This is the summation of the orthodox only. The Greek Church, like the Church of Rome, has had its schisms and defections. The Dissenters within the countries enumerated above number fully ten million, being a little more than one eighth of the whole. The entire Greek Catholic population of Eastern Europe and Western Asia has an aggregate of scarcely less than ninety million souls.

Universality of the Greek doctrines in Slavic countries.

In conclusion, we may note the fact that the Greek Church and the Russian autocracy are strongly combined in a system amounting almost to unity of organization. They support each other and enter into union almost as firmly and inevitably as do the monarchy and Church of England. The constitutional development of both countries has included a secular and an ecclesiastical element which have run together, clasping hands and making common cause. It is in the light of these facts that the attitude of nihilism toward the existing order must be viewed and understood. The Nihilist principle is logical to a degree. The movement has been marked with rationality in all of its stages. The theory is, in a word, that *nothing* of the existing order can coëxist with the rights of man. Emancipation must come by destruction of all, not by destruction of a part.

Combination of Greek Church and Russian autocracy.

The necessity of this doctrine is found ultimately in the union of the Church and the state. The one supports the other. The secular autocracy leans upon the national faith. The national faith holds and encourages the autocracy. In the West, be it said to the credit of the Roman hierarchy, the Catholic powers have often in the past stood with the people against their despotic rulers. In the East this phenomenon does not recur. The Nihilists, therefore, must attack the existing order as a whole. The reconstruction must be to the bottom. Society must be reörganized, even in its fundamentals.

Nihilism and the existing order; one must destroy the other.

The force and cogency of nihilism consist in the thorough rationality of its position. The Russian secular autocracy can not reform without destroying itself. With it the destinies of the Greek Church are involved. Vainly would the czar and the metropolitans and the Holy Synod debate a measure for reform when none is possible without abdication, and consequent revolution, and the total reconstruction of society. The situation is peculiar to the Slavic

races and to the nations which they have organized. The fundamental difficulty is the absence among them of political institutions. Peoples having political institutions may reform themselves without recourse to destructive and revolutionary methods. Peoples having none can not reform the existing order, but must uphold it until the revolution rolls under the fabric and throws it into ruins. It is a condition which philanthropy may regret, and hope postpone, but for which a peaceable remedy does not appear.

CHAPTER C.—THE POLES.

THE western boundaries of the Slavic races are by no means coïncident with the proper limits of Russia. The lines of ethnic distribution run out far into Central Europe. They tend in that direction as far as the Adriatic. Geographically the twentieth meridian east from Greenwich may be taken as the western bourn of the Slavic dispersion. After having considered the great body of the race within the limits of the Russian empire, we are now to follow the branching lines westward to their respective terminations. The most northern of these developments is the Poles, terminated at the extreme with the Wends.

Areas covered by the Western Slavs; the Poles.

It were not far from correct to regard the Poles as the finest race of Eastern Europe. It has been their lot to suffer much hardship in the historical vicissitudes of modern times; but whether we regard them as an independent people, or as a division of the Russian stock, we can hardly withhold the full measure of admiration alike for their race character and their deeds.

Poland as a country, as a nation, has disappeared from the map to reäppear as a province of the Russian empire. Aforetime the country extended east and west from Brandenburg to the easternmost course of the river Dnieper; from north to south the reach was from the gulf of Riga to the Carpathians and the Black sea. It included Livonia, Courland, Lithuania, Volhynia, Ukraine, Podolia, Galicia, and Poland Proper, with its northern and western dependencies.

Polish provinces; primitive movents of the race.

At the opening of history this broad region was occupied by the Slavs, gathered into villages with a tribal form of government, devoting themselves to agricultural pursuits. Without doubt they had issued from the East, being the vanguard of the Slavic race, but the origin of this division of mankind is not definitely known. It lies back in prehistoric and barbarian darkness. Not until the tenth century is the light sufficient to discover clearly the condition of the country and the people. At that date the monarchy appears. Poland had her independence and her kings. During the Middle Ages an even and tolerably peaceable course of development was taken by the race, and at the beginning of modern history we find the Polish kingdom to be one of the conspicuous powers of Eastern Europe.

The reader is already familiar with the three cruel dismemberments to which

that ancient kingdom was subjected. Each of these has been resisted by insurrections of the people, nor could either be accomplished except over the protest and struggle of the race. Within our own age the kingdom of Poland is no longer known; only the territory, the people, the geographical place, and the ethnographical essence remain from the former estate. The tradition, however, of Polish independence is the most vital reminiscence of the kind in the modern world.

How the Poles have resisted political dismemberment.

POLISH LANDSCAPE.—Reservoir and Garden of Lazienki.—Drawn by A. de Bar.

Poland Proper has an area of nearly fifty thousand square miles, and a population of about seven and a third million. The country belongs centrally to the valley of the Vistula. On the west it extends to the headwaters of the Oder, and the northeast to the tributaries of the Niemen. The peculiarity of the situation, ethnologically considered, is that it presses hard upon the areas occupied by the Teutonic peoples.

Place and population of Poland; physical features.

We need hardly pause to sketch the physical features of Poland, to note its rivers, its lakes, and its mountains. The great streams are the Vistula and the Niemen. The principal lakes are in the province of Suvalki. None of the fresh

water bodies, however, are comparable in extent with the great lakes of our own country. The thoroughfares are the rivers and the canals by which they are connected, though in recent times physical progress has brought the railroad and all the other leading means of intercommunication.

history, has been reinforced by the environment of the race. The whole manner of life, from the earliest time to the present, has been determined by the joint influence of an ethnic disposition and an inviting field for its display.

The essentially Slavic character of the Poles is shown in the original constitu-

MIXED TYPES OF THE POLISH BORDER.—Drawn by Flameng.

Poland lies, as we have said, between the Slavic and the Germanic countries. She tends constantly toward the German character. Of this kind is the flora, which includes much of the finest tree-growth of Europe. The country, viewed as a whole, is fertile, and the agricultural disposition, for which the Poles have been remarked since the beginning of their

The country verges toward Germany; the Polish gmina.

tion of their society. This was the village, or *gmina*. The village was the center of the district, and of its agricultural interest. About twenty of the *gminas* were united to form a district, and on this simple condition the political organization was effected. The people became essentially agricultural. Poland was one of the first marts for the exportation of grain in modern Europe.

The vicissitudes through which Polish society has passed have greatly affected the industries of the people and their means of subsistence. The country has shared the general movement which has prevailed throughout Europe, tending to enlarge manufacturing interests to the injury of the agricultural life. The ownership of land has not been easy, and the institution of serfdom, which prevailed until the first decade of our century, also hindered the highest agricultural development of the country.

Manner of life affected by political vicissitude.

WEST SLAV JEW MERCHANTS—TYPES.—Drawn by Viollat.

The original Polish race, presenting the stock in its purity, settled in the prehistoric age in the central valley of the Vistula. It is in evidence that the ancestors of the modern Poles were here preceded by an older population of some long-head division of mankind; but the Polish Slavs came in and took possession. They expanded and became the dominant people within the limits of the present territory of the Vistula, as Russian Poland is designated. Beyond these limits the pure Polish type is mixed on the northeast with the Lithuanians and Livonians; on the southeast with the Little Russians, and all along the western borders with the Germans. It is in the central territories of the basin of the Vistula and the province of Posen that the race may now be seen to the best advantage.

Primitive stock of the Vistula; mixture of races.

The territory of which we have here spoken as the central seat of the Poles is one of those ethnic whorls which we find in certain parts of the earth around which

the race-elements circle and rush in as opportunity offers. There is, perhaps, no situation in Europe into which peoples belonging to so many families of mankind have entered as into Poland. This, indeed, has been the great drawback to the nationality of the race. From the west the Germans have intruded more and more until their estates, to the number of nearly six thousand, have been extended to the very banks of the Vistula. The province of Suvalki is largely occupied by the Lithuanians. White Russians and Great Russians have pressed their way toward the same center from the northeastern and eastern borders. To all these foreign elements must be added the Jews, who, to the number of more than a million, have diffused themselves through all the towns and villages of the country.

Poland an ethnic whorl; intrusion of the Germans.

Most of these foreign forces are inimical alike to Polish nationality and the integrity of the race. They have beaten upon it, invaded its borders, conspired against its institutions, and tormented the race in all of its ambitions for freedom, independence, nationality. The German element has become predominant in trade and manufacture. The Jews, after the manner of their race, have seized upon Polish commerce both internal and foreign. The Russians have undermined the political life of the people, conspiring with the Polish nobility and seducing the nobles from their allegiance to their own country. A condition has thus been produced nearly akin to despair among the Poles in all particulars except in those sentiments of patriotism and race-pride which have held them up in the midst of adversity, compelling the admiration of the world.

Hostile forces tending to denationalize the Polish people.

Miły Oycze! z przyrodzenia iesteśmy do wszelkiego dobrego niesposobni a do złego skłonni. Oświecay przez Ducha twego świętego rozum nasz, żebyśmy twoie boskie prawdy prawie poięli, a wzmacniay pamięć naszą, żebyśmy dobre poięli i zachowali. Rządź też wolą naszą do posłuszeństwa prawdy, abyśmy wolę twoią nie ieno znali i wiedzieli, ale też czynili; bo ty chcesz, że nie mamy bydź tylko słuchaczami, ale też wykonawcami słowa twego. Wpisz wszystko dobre, co słyszymy i uczymy się, palcem ducha twego w serca nasze, abyśmy codziennie pobożnieyszymi, mędrszymi i posłusznieyszymi byli. Niech cicho i obyczaynie do szkoły, a tak też zaś do domu idziemy, i twoią przytomność nie ieno w szkole, ale wszędzie i ustawicznie przed oczami mamy. Uchoway nas od złego towarzystwa, a nie day nam nigdy zapomnieć, że ty wszędzie

SPECIMEN PARAGRAPH OF POLISH BOOK.

The ethnic integrity of the Polish race is still shown in the language. This, as we have indicated, is the northwestern branch of the Slavic division of Indo-European speech. Polish has its dialects, such as Masovian, Little Polish, Galician, Lithuanian, Great Polish, and Silesian. The last named has been so much corrupted with German as to sink to the level of a patois. The language is preserved in its integrity in Great and Little Poland. It may be regarded as the finest and most complete development of Slavic speech. The evolution of form and utterance has been so perfect that Polish is regarded by scholars as a favorite competitor for the first place among the European tongues. Few languages, ancient or modern, have surpassed it in flexibility of structure, richness of elements, power of expression, and harmony of utterance. It has, of course, as have all the Slavic languages, a massing of the consonants, and a prevalence of sibilant elements

The language preserves the nationality of the race.

which deprives it of that vocalic melody which we find in the Mediterranean languages; but the delicacy with which the consonantal parts and combinations have been developed compensates in great measure for the paucity of vowel sounds.

Alphabet of Polish; grammatical development.

The grammatical evolution of Polish is, perhaps, the fullest of all the modern languages. The orthography has been perfected to a degree which puts to shame the better known tongues of Western Europe. The force and functions of the letters of the alphabet have been varied, both vowels and consonants, until almost every variety of sound of which the organs of speech are capable is produced. The accent of the words is strongly analogous to Latin, being always on the penultimate syllable. Another likeness to the language of the Old Romans is in the omission of the article. The case development is more full than that of either Latin or Greek. The cases of nouns and pronouns are the nominative, the genitive, the dative, the accusative, the vocative, the instrumental, and the locative. The scheme of declension is very elaborate, extending to distinctions that are not generally recognized in the classical tongues. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, participles, and verbs show gender in their forms. Comparison of adjectives and adverbs is complete. The numeral scale is analogous with that of Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. The verb shows many forms of development which are not recognized in the other modern languages, or even in classical grammar.

Thus, for example, the Polish verb expresses the *frequency* of the action, the *intensity*, the *inception*, the *duration*, to a degree of elaborateness far beyond the reach of Greek and Sanskrit. The speaker in Polish is thus enabled to develop his ideas to a degree of nicety and exactitude for which we should look in vain in any other speech of Europe or America. In other particulars the language is equally rich. Thus, for example, in diminutives Polish has a wider range than the classical tongues or any of their derivatives. At the same time the structure of the sentence is flexible to a degree. So complete is the grammatical scheme that the words of a Polish sentence may be made to stand in almost any order, the sense being the same with only a variation in emphasis. In this respect the language has the genius of Latin, but has even greater power and freedom than had that remarkable tongue in the disposition of its words.

Capacities of Polish verb; flexibility of the sentence.

From such a linguistic basis we should expect a powerful literary development. Polish literature has appeared in many forms, and of a high grade of excellence; but it has not answered to such expectation as springs from the character of the language and the genius of the people. The causes of the discrepancy between the literary development and the antecedent possibilities of the same as determined by language and national genius are not far to seek. In the first place, the Polish race was *late* in its emergence from the barbarous into the civilized life. Many of the nations of Europe had already advanced into literary culture before the pencilings of light were seen on the banks of the Vistula. In the next place, the Latinizing tendency came early into the country, and the first forms of culture were out of the western universities. The Latin monks carrying thither the Gospel and the dogma of Rome, took also

Evolution of Polish literature in Latin garb.

Latin as the vehicle of all literary expression. They entered Poland, as they had long before entered Britain, bearing the torches of mediæval learning, but

TYPES OF CRACOW.—Drawn by Viollat.

also as the enemies of vernacular development.

The Catholic missionaries everywhere have opposed themselves to the cultivation of the barbarian languages. They have accepted those languages only with reluctance and because they must. It was but natural that they should do so. Their own education forbade them to admire those harsh and powerful forms of speech of which the barbarian nations were in possession. In Poland, Latin,

reïnforced by Catholicism, set itself against the development of a national literature. The earliest efforts of the Polish mind to express itself in literary forms were in Latin. At the university of Cracow and a few other Polish centers Latin letters began to be cultivated from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A strong classicism was thus laid upon the Polish genius at the start, and to the present day the national mind has not freed itself from the influences to which it was subjected in the first stages of its development. Nevertheless, the national genius has struggled for emancipation and has measurably gone free. Meanwhile, however, political and national disaster has come, and at the very time when the Polish intellect would have begun to soar into the higher realms of literature, it has been struck with the shaft of banded nations and stretched upon the plain.

Catholic missionaries oppose vernacular development.

We may not here enter into the particulars of the Polish literary development. The same has included several stages, not a few of which have been reäctionary rather than progressive. We have seen that the beginnings were derived out of Latin. Following this, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was a reign of pedantry which greatly obscured the native intellect. So much foreign phraseology was introduced that the very vocabulary of the people was corrupted to a degree. The worst epoch in the history of the development of English letters was not so bad on account of the importation of Latin forms and other foreign elements as was a long period in Polish extending from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. Some of the great minds sought to free themselves from the incumbrance of this deluge of foreignism, but the greater part of the literature of the time referred to was of so corrupt a form as to take the name of Macaronic. Many works can be selected from this epoch of Polish production so corrupted and weighed down with the intermixture of Latin words, structures, and terminations, that the whole takes the character of a burlesque rather than of sincere literary product.

Influence of classicism and pedantry on literary progress.

Against this there was a necessary revolt. About the middle of the eighteenth century the two brothers, Zaluski, led a literary insurrection against the old style and in the production of a better. They sought to encourage the national spirit. They collected a national library, and coöperated with the educational reformer, Konarski, in his attempt to institute a new method of public instruction. The effects of this movement were seen in the time of Poniatowski, last monarch of independent Poland. This was a period of great literary activity. Had the independence of the country been maintained it is evident that a literary galaxy of great splendor would have adorned the Polish firmament.

Revolt of the national spirit; effects of revolutions.

The disastrous effects of revolutions, insurrections, and suppressions which have filled up Polish history for the last hundred years can hardly be overestimated. The universities of the country and other native seats of intellectual activity have been the prime objects of attack by Russia and her coädjutors. The young men gathered at the centers of learning have borne the intellect of Poland, and have carried down her promise with them into patriotic graves. Many of the most distinguished have fled to foreign lands, and have found in

the capitals of Europe and America an opportunity for the exercise of those faculties which in their own country were choked into either a barren delivery or eternal silence.

Literary centers of the Polish race; culture abroad.

The literary activity of the Polish race has been displayed most of all at Warsaw. That city, notwithstanding the oppressions and persecutions to which she has been subjected, has not failed at any time in the modern era to show forth in large measure the powers of the Polish mind. Rarely—indeed, never—has her press been free or her literary expression unimpeded by authority; but the light there glowing has not been extinguished to the present day. Other Polish cities have competed with the capital for the preëminence which is always conceded to intellectual activity. Such are Wilna, Posen, Cracow, Lemberg, and others. The emigrant Poles have carried with them to foreign countries their literary aspirations. The Polish colony of Paris is an intellectual community much given to the cultivation of letters. Many Poles who have sought refuge in the United States are literary men, intellectual leaders of the local societies which they have established in America. Each of these local societies has become a miniature Poland. But while the sentiments and intellectual moods of the mother country are preserved under the ægis of the republic, the exiles have in all cases conceived a love for the protective power which amounts to adoration.

This condition of mind and environment is favorable to literary activities.

Evidences of Polish spirit in America.

Many of the Poles have succeeded in getting away from the horrid persecutions of their native land with at least a part of their resources. They have thus been enabled to reëstablish themselves in such state as to favor the intellectual life. Those who have escaped with nothing but life and memory have brought to America the fundamental elements of literary production. It is not improbable that the Polish communities of American cities will at length compete with our native genius for the prizes of authorship and art.

Industries of the race proceed from instinct and from nature.

The industries and economies of the Polish race have proceeded from what we may suppose to have been an original ethnic preference, assisted and developed by the environment. All human industries and industrial arts are ultimately traceable to these two sources. It is unthinkable that a race of men should work otherwise than as suggested by the instincts within them and the forces around them. How, indeed, should any man or community of men run, as if by will, counter to the impulse of his own nature and the suggestion of the nature that plays upon his faculties?

Out of these two forces is born all. They who would trace everything to will and subjective states and preferences neglect the inevitable influences of environment. They who would trace everything to environment neglect that subjective susceptibility and instinct of which all men are possessed, making them more or less sensitive and subject to the laws of physical nature. This is the fitting of man into nature and the adjustment of nature to him. Out of the union springs whatever he does and is.

We have noted what appears to have been the original preference of the Polani for the agricultural pursuit. The soil of Poland is a fertile loam. It is generally intermixed with sand. Though

there are large tracts in which the sand so predominates as to destroy fertility, the rest is productive to a degree. In some parts of the country there are undrained swamps and stretches of heather. These parts as well as the sand plains must be deducted from the area of fertility. The country is one of great forests, rich pasture lands, and fertile fields. The aspect is picturesque. The conditions for favorable reaction upon the human faculties are present in full degree. The climate coöperates for the production of a great race. The region is as healthful as any in Europe, but the climatic conditions are severe. The winters are long and cold and the summers hot. The usual thermometric range is about 105°, being from 90° F. to 15° or more below zero. There is thus for the human constitution an alternate baptism of sunshine and snow—favorable to a great development.

Productiveness of Poland; the healthful climate.

On these fundamental conditions the industrial activities and practical arts of the Polish race have been founded. They are, first of all, an agricultural people, producing great quantities of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and buckwheat. To these are added products of the orchard—apples, pears, and the small fruits in abundance. The raising of sheep, horses, and poultry is extensively practiced. By these simple and natural methods the vital resources of the country are gathered, but the hard conditions of civil and social life have for centuries kept the people back from the enjoyment of natural abundance and ease.

Strong preference of Poles for the agricultural life.

After agriculture, the principal industry of the native Poles is mining. This pursuit has been suggested by the rich mineral deposits of the country. In the mountains of Kielce, and in that part of the country bordering on Silesia, are

Mineral deposits and mining industries.

AGRICULTURAL LIFE—POLISH PEASANTS.
Drawn by A. de Bar.

iron and copper mines, which have been productive for nearly four hundred years. Within the present century the copper product has run down to a minimum, but the iron is still abundant. In Olkusz and Bolaslav are zinc mines of the greatest value In the same region are tin mines which are hardly surpassed by those of any other country. They have been worked since the sixteenth century, and still have a great yield. To these mineral riches must be added the sulphur deposits which are unsurpassed in richness. Those of Czarkowa are in some parts as much as seventy feet in thickness. There are also in different parts of Poland abundant deposits of coal, thus completing the fundamental conditions upon which mining and manufacturing are based.

Polish genius averse to commerce and manufactures.

It should be observed that the genius of the Polish race does not turn readily to commerce and manufactures. All of the Slavs, and to a certain measure the Germans, have an innate dislike for the trading life. We may note symptoms of this disposition widely diffused at the present time even in German universities, where the most illiberal discriminations are maintained against shopkeepers' sons. The landed aristocracy of the Poles seem to have entertained sentiments of contempt for the makers and sellers of goods. Foreigners are not, therefore, wholly to blame for entering Poland for the practice of such industries as the native race has neglected and contemned. No doubt a part of the disposition referred to has sprung from the insinuation of the Jewish race into all the places of commercial profit. The race hostility to the Hebrews has led to a contempt and hatred of their pursuits.

It has thus happened that the woolen and cotton manufactories of Poland have fallen into the hands of Germans, while the trade, both domestic and foreign, has gone to the Jews. Perhaps the manufacturing industries, and commerce as well, have, on the whole, been promoted by the incoming of foreigners and by their possession of the industries referred to. The internal trade of the Poles sets principally toward the ports of the Baltic. The volume of exports includes wheat, rye, barley, flaxseed, oil, honey, wool and woolen goods, iron products, and timber. Other commercial lines have been established between the principal Polish cities and St. Petersburg and Moscow in the one direction and Dantzic in the other. It is evident that the Poles proper, especially the upper classes, have looked with distrust upon the commercial and industrial evolution which has thrown them more and more into intimate connection with Russia and Germany. Their natural distrust of their oppressors has extended to the intercommercial lines which have been drawn in all directions from their ancient capital.

Factories and trade of Poland in hands of Jews and Germans.

Little need be said of the government and laws of Poland, since these have been replaced with the enforced system of Russia. Poland as a nation has ceased to exist, but the Poles as a people still live, and zealously assert their race integrity. The so-called territory of the Vistula, which stands for the formerly existing kingdom of Poland, is thoroughly incorporated with the Russian empire, and has received by conquest and intrigue the laws and authority of the foreign power. Of course, the Poles have preserved as much as possible of the spirit and substance of their old constitution; but over this have been laid the prevailing forms of Russian

Political collapse has not brought extinction of race.

POLISH ROAD SCENE AND COUNTRY SEAT.—From *Magazine of Art.*

imperialism. The country has been divided into ten governments, and each of these into a number of districts. The same scheme of territorial organization has been adopted since the insurrection of 1863 as exists in Russia.

The Poles of Poland Proper number at the present time approximately eight million souls. The census of 1881 showed seven and a third million, with a rate of increase of one and eight tenths per cent annually. These figures are given for Poland, but the race extends far beyond the Polish limits into Russia. At least eleven of the Russian governments have a percentage of Poles amounting to an aggregate of much more than a million, being about one twelfth of the whole population.

Number of Poles; prevalence of Roman Catholicism.

In religion the Poles are Roman Catholics. In Poland Proper much more than two thirds of the whole population hold to the communion of Rome. About one million of the people are Jews, between whom and the predominant race the relations are always strained. It would appear that there is an ineradicable antagonism between the Slavic and the Hebrew race. This sentiment began far back in the Middle Ages, has seldom been abated, and never extinguished. The manner of life, as well as the religion of the two peoples, tends to perpetual alienation. Protestantism has obtained a footing in Poland, and the United Church is able to present a quarter of a million of adherents. The Lutherans number three hundred and twenty-seven thousand, while the Greek Church is scarcely able to present a membership of thirty-five thousand.

There is thus only about one Greek Catholic to every one hundred and fifty members of the Roman communion. When we reflect upon the total reversal of these religious conditions in Russia, we may discover another of the potent causes of the antagonism between the two countries. The Church of Rome has stood fast with the Polish people, and to the extent of her ability has protected them from the aggressions of the Russian power. The Catholic clergy has been profoundly involved with nearly every revolution and insurrection which has had for its ultimate object the freedom and independence of the Poles. They have repaid the protecting mother with a filial devotion which, in this case at least, has ground for its existence. The priesthood has suffered in common with the people and for them. Many of the Roman ecclesiastics have been driven out of the country. No doubt Russia would, if she could, extinguish Roman Catholicism in her territory of the Vistula, but to do so would be to exterminate the inhabitants.

Weakness of the Greek Church in Poland.

Within the borders of Poland a little over sixty-eight per cent of the people are Poles. The largest foreign element are the Jews. About half a million are Little Russians. The Germans number approximately four hundred thousand, and the Lithuanians more than two hundred and forty thousand. Since the insurrection of 1863 the most aggressive foreign element is the German. People of this race are advancing constantly from the Teutonic borders and establishing themselves especially in the manufacturing towns. They have penetrated in great numbers as far as the capital, and have become the predominant race along the Prussian frontier to the depth of thirty-five miles in what is properly Polish territory.

Ethnic analysis of the Polish populations.

With this element, however, the Poles do not so greatly disagree as with the

Jews. As it respects the Russians, the antipathy is to the imperial government and progressive projects. Nothing in human sentiment can be more profound

POLISH TYPES OF LITTLE RUSSIA.—Drawn by V. Foulquier.

itself more than to the Russian people. They and the Poles alike are Slavs, and Russian and Polish reformers join their sentiments and strike hands in revolutionary and ineradicable than the dislike, the hatred, of the Polish patriots for the imperial despotism which has been established over their country and themselves. They have the liberality, however, to

Unity of the Poles with the Russian liberals.

perceive that it is not the Russian people, but the House of Romanoff that oppresses them and destroys their nationality.

That dynasty has inherited the enormous powers and prerogatives which the czars of Muscovy asserted aforetime over barbarous races, and then transmitted to their successors. The imperial system is fortified by aristocracy and military force. It has at its command every resource which tyranny and self-interest have been able to invent or discover. Against it is arrayed the Slavic mind, whether Russ or Pole. That mind aspires to emancipation, and seeks inveterately for the creation of political institutions whereby the popular will may be lawfully expressed. It thus happens that the Poles—with the exception of such of their nobility as have found it to their advantage to cast in their lots with the great autocracy—and the Russian liberals have a common cause against the empire and its representatives.

Strength and tyranny of the Romanoff rule.

POLES OF POSEN—TYPES.—Drawn by V. Foulquier.

We have already spoken of the vast variety of ethnic character displayed by the Slavic races. Uniformity of person and manner has not been attained

Variety of characteristics among Slavic races.

under the influences of a common civilization, and it is doubtful whether such can ever be reached in so vast and diversified a country. It is true that the Slavic nations have certain traits by which they can generally be distinguished from other peoples without appealing to the final test of language. Time was, if we mistake not, when the ancestors of the Teutonic races and the Slavs still held together in those vast wooded regions out of which they finally debouched into Eastern Europe and spread as far as Scandinavia.

POLISH TYPES AND COSTUMES.—Drawn by V. Foulquier.

At that time they had an ethnic character which was easily recognizable and was described by Tacitus. The Roman historians are agreed in regard to the personal appearance of the Germans. There is still a popular belief that the Teutonic peoples conform to the description given by Tacitus, Cæsar, and the rest, at the beginning of our era. This, however, is not correct. It is only in certain parts of Scandinavia that the old types may yet be discovered in their purity. Baron Bunsen has declared that it is in vain to seek among the modern Germans for the auburn or gold red locks and fierce blue eyes which were the unvarying features of the primitive Teutones. Niebuhr has expressed the opinion that the modern Germans have changed from the ancient type—differentiated into many forms which could not have been discovered among the Teutonic peoples at the time when they were best known to the Romans.

Departure of Slavs and Germans from the ancient types.

The same thing has evidently taken place in the case of the Slavic races. These, too, while retaining the original race elements, have divided and become vastly diversified. Pritchard is of the opinion that climate and local circumstances have conspired to produce a variety among the Slavs which at its extremes is greater than between them and any of the peoples of Western Europe. This, if true, is but another example of that outspreading and varying growth of ethnic qualities which, after a long period of differentiation, will doubtless turn its energy toward integration and the production of a common race throughout the world—varied only by the necessary influence of climate and condition into darker and lighter, stronger and weaker, athletic and less athletic, according to the force of nature. This is equivalent to saying that the original implanted ethnic forces will ultimately exhaust themselves, leaving only the variety of nature to be expressed in the aspects of man-life on the earth.

Ethnic diversity of the Slavic races.

In the southeastern parts of their territories the Slavs are generally dark-complexioned, black-haired, and black-eyed. These qualities of person are preserved in the Servians, in a majority of the proper Slavonians, and in the Croatians. They are tolerably well preserved in the Poles. The latter may be regarded as the finest physical specimens of the Slavic race. They are generally taller than the average, and are symmetrically formed. The men have high heads, large brains, and are bony and strong, though well proportioned. The women, especially those of the upper classes, are symmetrical, graceful, beautiful. Than these no ladies of Europe have a more commanding, and many times queenly air. The complexion is generally brunette, but the Poles, both men and women, share the variety of the Russians, who, toward the north, become fair-complexioned and have blue eyes. As we have said, it is impossible to generalize in the description of so vast a race of people, extending over so great an area of continent, and developed under such varying conditions of tribal and national life.

Features and personality of the Poles.

CHAPTER CI.—WENDS AND CZECHS.

FOLLOWING the clue of language we find that the Lekh, or Polish, stem reaches further west than the country of the Poles, and presents as its extreme development the people called Wends. Modern ethnology has suggested the name of Slovenes, or Sorbs, for these people, but this designative has hardly yet obtained full currency. In any event the name is not so important as the fact. The fact reveals to us a people of the Slavic race, making their way westward from the borders of Poland in the earlier centuries of our era, and finally establishing themselves in the country between the headwaters of the Spree and the river Elbe. The course of migration carried them evidently through Silesia and Posen, both of which were originally, and are to the present day, in large measure Slavonic in their population.

Place of the Wends; ethnic names suggested.

The Slavs, of whatever ethnic division, have been hard to suppress and harder to extinguish. The present aspect shows them pressing, as if with the fist, against the borders of the Germanic countries. The deepest indentation in this part of Europe was made by the Wends, and it is not certain that to the present time they have been repelled from the point of their extreme progress. This seems to have been in the mountainous districts of Lusatia. The modern province of Bautzen contains the present Wendish population. Here the people of this blood, to the number of about a hundred and forty thousand, are established. Here they have held their ground against the tremendous pressure of the Teutonic race for at least twelve centuries. Their country originally was perhaps as wide as the modern Saxony; but in the vicissitudes of the Dark Ages the Slavic populations were condensed in the southern part of the country, where they remain, in their descendants, to the present time.

Strength of the Wendish vanguard in Germany.

Of the Slavonic derivation of this people there can be no doubt. They show in general the same personal and race characteristics as distinguish the Poles. From the earliest ages they have been devoted to agriculture and the raising of cattle. They were one of the first peoples in these parts of Europe to bring the soil to the higher forms of cultivation. At the same time the warlike spirit was manifested in full force.

The Wends are Slavs; they resist Germanic influences.

Here, in Saxony, the Slavs were fairly within the Teutonic circle. They bore hard upon the Germanic races, and they on them. It is in the nature of things that the advance guard in race movements must fight, and fight hard. It is on the offensive as well as the defensive, and nothing but warlike vigor can save it from quick extinction. The fact that these Wends, or Sorbs, or Slovenians, did maintain themselves, and have transmitted a name and fame to posterity, sufficiently shows forth the native daring and prowess of the race.

History has preserved an account of the development of the Wends from the tribal estate to nationality. There was a period in the Middle Ages when it seemed probable that all Saxony under

Wend princes make havoc of nationality.

their dominion would rise to firm nationality, and compete for a place among the modern powers of Europe. It is believed that this tendency was checked and turned the other way by the course of the Wendish princes, who, from the beginning of the twelfth century, adopted the ruinous policy of dividing up their territorial and political dominions among their sons. This method was pursued until all prospect of Wendish nationality was obscured. Henceforth the Teutonic peoples gained constantly upon the Wends, and the mark of Meissen was reduced almost to the limits of the city bearing that name. Such, however, was the strength of the Wendish stock that the people held their own against the numbers and aggressions of the rival race, and we are thus presented with the spectacle of a Slavic people far within the limits of the modern Germanic states.

WEND TYPES OF GALICIA.
Drawn by A. de Bar.

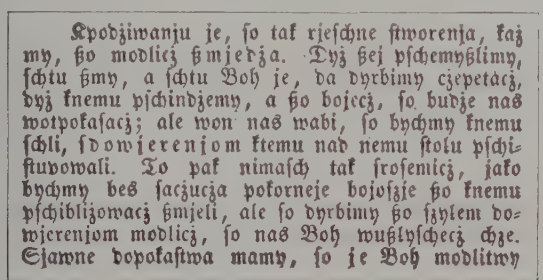
As far as we are able to discover, the Wends took an industrial and social development almost identical with that of the Poles. The life of the people was, in the first place, strongly agricultural, tending to feudal conditions. After this, mining became the principal occupation. The extraordinary silver deposits in the vicinity of Freiberg were discovered and worked as early as the middle of the twelfth century. This industry gave an impetus to all others, and there was a period when it appeared probable that the Wends, by their prosperity, would occupy and organize the whole country between

Agricultural and mining industries prevail.

the rivers Werra and Oder, extending from the mountainous regions of Bohemia to the line of the Harz. Mining continued to be one of the great pursuits of the people, as it has been to the present time. In our century manufactures have been added in many profitable forms to the industrial resources, and the country of the Wends has a large measure of prosperity.

We should note, however, the absence of the national spirit among them. They have the ethnic spirit, but the strong hope of becoming a nation—such hope as inspires all the Poles—could hardly be found among the Wends. There was a time in the Middle Ages when the Frankish conquerors of Lusatia brought down the Wends to a condition of servitude, and from this they have never fully recovered. They accept the domination of Germany and the Teutonic race. We have thus the aspect of a people not unprosperous, and even contented on the industrial and social side, but having little of the political ambition which characterizes the progressive races of Europe and America. Smallness of numbers, also, must be taken into consideration. It could not be expected that a race having an aggregate of fewer than a hundred and fifty thousand representatives should aspire to power and rank in competition with nations having millions of inhabitants.

Absence of a national spirit in the race.



Kpodźiwanju je, ſo tak rjeſchne ſtworenja, każ my, ßo modlicź ßmjedźa. Dyż ßej pſchemyßlimy, ſchtu ßmy, a ſchtu Boh je, da dyrbimy cźepetacź, dyż knemu pſchindźemy, a ßo bojecź, ſo budźe nas wotpokaſacź; ale won nas wabi, ſo bychmy knemu ſchli, ſdowjerenjom ktemu nad nemu ſtolu pſchiſtupowali. To pak nimaſch tak ſroſemicź, jako bychmy bes ſacźucźa pokorneje bojoſźe ßo knemu pſchiblizowacź ßmjeli, ale ſo dyrbimy ßo ſźyłem dowjerenjom modlicź, ſo nas Boh wußłyſchecź chze. Sjawne dopokaſtwa mamy, ſo je Boh modlitwy

PARAGRAPH OF WEND BOOK.

Like the Poles, the Wends are adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. The domination of Greek Catholicism has not extended westward with the Slavic races over which, beyond the Vistula, it has so powerfully prevailed. The position of the Wends has made them an object of contention, not between Rome and the Greek hierarchy, but rather between Rome and the reformed religions of Germany. The latter have made great progress in the direction of the countries occupied by the Wends, and the state Church of Germany, as well as the mother Church, has a strong hold upon the people.

The Wends adhere to Rome; success of Lutheranism.

Of much larger importance, both historically and in the ethnic scheme, are the Czechs. These are the representatives of another division of the Western Slavs. They mark in the direction of Bohemia, Moravia, and Northern Hungary the extreme dispersion of the parent race. Again the reader must be notified of the interpenetration in these regions of the two stocks, Slavic and Teutonic. Bohemia is largely, but not wholly, occupied by the Czechs—this notwithstanding the Germanic relations of the country in its civil and political life. Without doubt Bohemia was aforetime a Celtic country. It was the land of the Boii, well-known to the student of classical history. These in course of time were overrun by the German Marcomanni, who brought with them Teutonic institutions and Christianity. After another period in came the Slavs from the East, and both the Germanic and the Celtic peoples yielded to their sway. In like manner the Avars sought to over-

Place and ethnic descent of the Czechs.

power the Slavic conquerors, but failed in the effort. The Slavs took the religious and, in some measure, the political,

It is hardly needed that we should recount the physical character and resources of the country before us. The

BOHEMIAN MAN AND WOMAN—TYPES—Drawn by V. Foulquier.

character of the Germans who had preceded them. Thus as a country of mixed nationalities Bohemia made her way through the Middle Ages. In the fifteenth century the Hussite reformation found here its scene of action.

means of subsistence for man in these regions, and the reäctions of nature upon him, are common with those of a large part of Central Europe. The products of the earth are identical in most partic-

Resources of Bohemia; abundance of mineral springs.

ulars with those of the greater part of Germany, France, Holland, and the New World. The animal life is of like character through the same region. The mineral wealth extends from gold and silver, copper, lead, tin, and iron through the usual range of the subordinate metals to sulphur, alum, and coal. The gold and silver mines of the country are still largely productive. Nor should we fail to mention the mineral springs in which Bohemia abounds more than almost any other country in the world.

Aptitude of the people for mining industries; glass making.

It is not so much the presence of minerals and the native suggestions of manufacture in a country, but rather the effect of these hints upon man that should elicit our interest. We have seen already how in Russia, Poland, and other Slavonic countries the race has shown its aptitude for mining and the manufacture of metals. These phenomena reappear in Bohemia. Iron, copper, and tin are wrought as successfully as in other parts of Europe. To this we should add the manufacture of glass, in which the Bohemians have probably surpassed all other peoples. Like progress may be noted in the manufacture of chemicals and in the larger field of fabrics. There are few countries in Europe in which cotton and linen goods are produced of finer qualities than in Bohemia.

Percentage of various race elements in Bohemia.

In speaking of the industries, arts, and manner of life of the Bohemians, we must keep in mind their mixed-race character. It is estimated that about thirty-seven per cent of the whole population is Germanic, two per cent Hebrew, and sixty-one per cent Slavonic, or Czech. Probably no attempt has been made in recent times to classify the people on an ethnic basis with respect to their industries. It is sufficient to note the predominant place of the Slavonic element in all departments of Bohemian life. Indeed, the use of the word Bohemian to describe the nation is incorrect, both etymologically and historically.

Czech marks the last stage of the Aryan linguistic evolution.

The place which we here occupy in our discussion of the races of mankind is interesting to a degree, since we have reached the culminating point of one of the great race developments. The Czech stem marks the extreme northwestern departure of the Slavic family. It shows linguistically the extreme of the span which has under the other digit the ancient Sanskrit. The language of the Czechs shows clearly in its constitution that it is a culmination of certain tendencies of mind and speech. It is polar, the opposite pole being the old classical tongues of the Aryan races. Czech shows in the highest degree the consonantal development of language. It seems to rejoice in harshness and strength, and to cultivate these to a degree that may hardly be paralleled in any other language. Nevertheless, as in all the Slavonic tongues, a high linguistic development has been attained in Czech. The language has taken its own course until it has wrought its rough vigor and vehemence into grammatical precision and beauty of utterance.

Genesis of Czech alphabet; grammatical development.

Already, before the introduction of Latin Christianity, the Czechs had adopted an alphabet, reproduced in large measure from Greek, and had begun the expression of thought in literary forms. Afterwards the Latin writing was adopted, at least by certain branches of the Western Slavs. In either case the alphabet was fitted to the native sounds of the language, and these had in general

the Aryan character. Czech has five vowels, which are multiplied by making them long or short. As we have said, the consonantal element predominates, and it is one of the peculiarities of the language that it is able to produce, as a single letter, such combinations as *rzh*, *rz*, *gy*, *ty*, *ny*, and the like. The combinations *ch* and *sch* prevail, and have sounds analogous to the German *ch*. In Czech the article is wanting, but the language presents three full genders, a declension in eight forms, each having seven cases. The dual number is also recognized, and adjectives take the forms of the nouns and pronouns to which they belong. The verb, as in Polish, is amply developed, and, as in that language, the flexibility of the sentence is enhanced by great freedom in the disposition of the words. These may be placed with as much variety as in Latin and Greek. There is also a strong sympathy with the classical tongues in the matter of poetic meter. To this Czech gives great attention, but does not much concern itself with rhyme and other niceties of modern verse.

It is on this linguistic bottom that the literature of the race under consideration is based. It is probable that of all the Slavic languages Czech presents the best literary development. The literature of the Bohemians has been carefully studied and set forth by the critic, Joseph Dobrowski. He has traced the literary evolution of the Slavic tongue from the migration of the Czechs into Bohemia down to the present age. The history of the language presents the same vicissitudes, or at least analogous aspects, to those which recur in the story of English. While the Bohemian literary product is not to be compared in variety and excellence with the vast and wonderful developments of English letters, the yield of the former is, nevertheless, reputable in nearly all departments of thought.

Fine literary product of the Czechs.

It is assumed that the reader is familiar with the civil history of Bohemia. The country at the present time constitutes a division of Austria-Hungary. It is thus completely within the Teutonic circle. The population is over five million, of whom more than three million are Czechs. The country and the people alike present many points of interest for the inquirer. History oddly reserved for this region the scene of the outbreak of the first formidable Protestant rebellion against Rome. The mention of Prague brings to the mind of the student of history many events and associations which could not well be spared from the drama of civilization.

Interest in Bohemia and the Czech race.

Here, in Bohemia, the German race planted its first university, and may be said to have begun that intellectual development which has given character and rank to all the modern Teutonic nations. The time has been when thirty thousand students were gathered at one time at the Bohemian capital—this, too, at a period when the greater part of Europe was groping in darkness. That change in civil society which gave ascendency to Teutonic influences over the more numerous Czech elements belongs to the early part of the seventeenth century. During the Thirty Years' War, Bohemia suffered as much as any other country under that terrible and soulless scourge. From that period forth to near the close of the eighteenth century the people were reduced to the religious sway of Rome. This signified that the Czechs had yielded their national instincts to foreign pressure. The race spirit, however, has

Czechs may claim priority in intellectual development.

continued to assert itself to the present time.

Democratic sympathies of the people.

The Czechs, like the Poles, strongly sympathized with the French Revolution, and as late as the middle of our century they have shown unmistakable dispositions to join the movements for a Panslavic empire. So strong is the old Slavic sentiment that the Austrian government has to keep guard over the political tendencies in Bohemia, where the disposition of the most numerous race to take a course of its own is almost as strong as that of the Hungarian Magyars.

Aptitudes of the Czechs; their social life.

The Bohemian Czechs are a people of fine qualities. They preserve in a high measure the best characteristics of the Slavic race. They can not, perhaps, be compared with the Poles in the competition for the first rank among all the peoples of Slavic descent, but they grade high in the list. There is much intellectuality. Few of the races of Europe have so striking a development in the art of music. Many of the most distinguished musicians of our age are Bohemians, generally of Czech extraction.

GREAT SQUARE IN PRAGUE.

The same forwardness may be observed in art and, to a degree, in literature. The people are of a cheerful, or, rather, gay disposition. Their social life rivals for its freedom that of the Germans. To their credit it may be said that, as a rule, the mercenary spirit does not rest upon them so heavily as on nearly all the peoples of Western Europe and America. The enjoyment of life seems to be a prevailing motive; happiness is still one of the conscious purposes of this

distinguished and promising race of men.

We have already noted the fact of the extension of Slavic lines in several directions through these parts of Central Europe. One of these lines descends as far south as Albania, and the resulting population in that country has felt a distinct modification from this source. While

Slavic lines of dispersion reach into Albania.

language, just as the Slavic element may be noted among the people. It is probable that the strong pressure of Russia in this direction has increased the proportion of Slavic blood within the Albanian borders. Nor is it likely that the end of such tendencies has yet been reached.

Throughout Roumania, Bulgaria, and Servia there is likewise an element of

VILLAGE MUSICIAN AND GYPSIES.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

the Albanians may be regarded as properly the descendants of the ancient Illyrians, they have, nevertheless, felt the Slavic impact, and the same is shown in the present population. By the test of language, however, this people is clearly Hellenic in its descent. It is possible to trace the modern Albanian tongue back to the Illyrian of the classical and preclassical ages. On the side of Greece, Hellenic characteristics predominate. The Slavic trace is discoverable in the Slavic origin. This is particularly true of the last-named country. The Serbs and Croats have preserved in the countries which they occupy the strongest evidences of their race descent. They may almost be regarded as preëminently Slavic among all the peoples of their race—outside of the borders of the Russian empire. These, like the Poles, the Wends, and the Czechs, are the descendants of a Dark Age migration out of

Slavic elements in Roumania, Bulgaria, and Servia.

Slavonia. The event goes back, perhaps, to the first half of the seventh century.* At this date they came from their unknown origin into Mœsia, and spread as far as Illyricum.

It is believed by reputable ethnographers that even before this date tribes of the same derivation had made their way into the Balkan peninsula, and had partly colonized that region. Little is known, however, of movements so obscure in a period so remote and barbarous. Even as late as the actual Slavonic migration into the Balkan region the mark of tradition is upon the event, rendering it half-mythical. It is said that five Croat chieftains with their two sisters, bearing the clearly mythological names of Calamity and Prosperity, came from the Carpathians and settled in the region now constituting Servia.

A primitive population preceding the Slavs.

We need not much concern ourselves with traditional stories when the simple fact suffices that in the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages the Slavic races made their way to the southwest almost to the Adriatic, and gained possession of a large part of the country, which possession they were subsequently hardly able to retain against the aggressions of Germans and Turks. The race, however, kept its native characteristics. To the present time it has yielded but little of those original qualities which belong to the Slavonic tribes in common. The Serbs are much more advanced in civilization than the Croats. The former are regarded as one of the best minor divisions of all the Slavs. They have spirit, intelligence, and progress. From their mediæval history they have been a people of strong democratic instincts. There is an absence among them of the disposition seen among the Poles to construct a nobility and a system of castes. To the present time there is among the Servians a strong community and democ-

Characteristics of the Serbs and Croats.

CROAT WOMAN OF THE FRONTIER—TYPE.
Drawn by Valerio, from nature.

racy of feeling. Religiously, they are adherents of the Greek Catholic Church. The center of their establishment is at Belgrade, where the metropolitan resides. Under him are three bishops. Roman Catholicism has made but little progress in Servia, and Protestantism still less. Both, however, are tolerated.

The Serbs have not been equal to the Czechs in intellectual progress. Education is virtually limited to the upper classes. Not until 1869 was a Servian university established at the capital. Of literature, no great showing has been made by the native genius. The literary

Intellectual rank and literary development of the Serbs.

BULGARIAN TYPES.—Drawn by H. Rousseau.

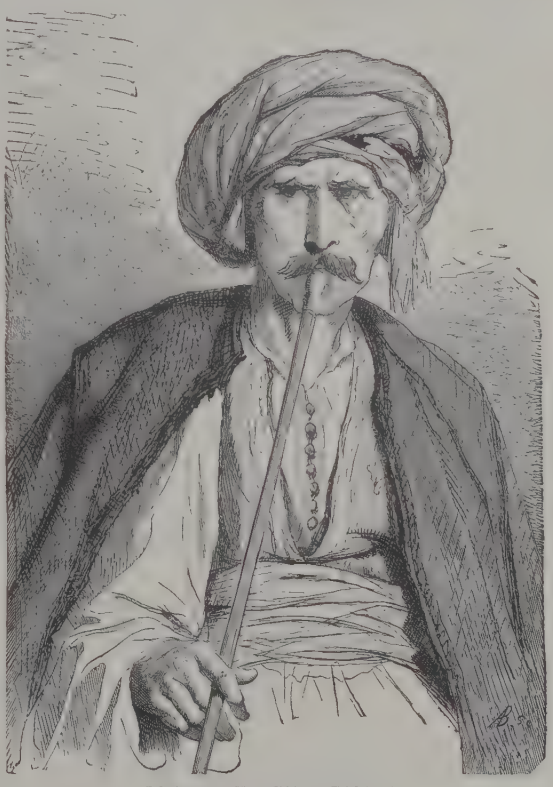
development has been coïncident with the Croatian, and both have been backward and feeble. Already, in the Middle Ages, there were native chroniclers among the Serbs, and regular biographies were composed as early as the thirteenth century. The chronicles, as in nearly all countries of Europe, were strongly infected with religious biases. The Greek ecclesiastics, working in monasteries, produced the major part of the annals and biographies, and a large part of the ballads were either composed or redacted by authors of the same character. The ballad literature of the Serbs is considerable in extent and praiseworthy as to merit. The subjects are war and love. The native genius delights in tragic songs in which the national heroes of the race are celebrated.

It is worth while to note in this connection an odd literary development reaching over nearly three centuries of time, extending to the seventeenth of our era, during which the city of Ragusa aspired to be the intellectual seat, not only of the Serbs, but in some sense of the Slavonic race. A style of literary composition called the Ragusan sprang up and attained a European fame. The history of the town where this culture existed may well remind the reader of that of Florence in the Middle Ages. At a later period the intellectual activity which had prevailed at Ragusa waned, and the Servian mind never afterwards displayed its powers to so good an advantage.

Ragusa aspires to become a seat of culture.

Within the last century, however, quite a variety of literary products has issued from the Servian source, including history, poetry, the drama—within narrow limits—and philosophy. An analogous development has been witnessed among the Croatians, between whom and the Serbs many features exist in common. These extend to intellectual, industrial, and social characteristics. On the whole, Croatians have not kept pace with the Czechs, the Poles, and the Serbs in the direction of a large and progressive ethnic life. They have, nevertheless, preserved their language, their Slavonic traditions, and a measure of national spirit. The latter has expressed itself in literary forms, particularly in the poetry of Stanko Vraz and Radichevich, belonging to the present

More recent literary production of the race.



BOSNIAN CHRISTIAN PEASANT.
Drawn by Valerio, from nature.

century. For the rest, the influence of Germany has prevailed over the native instincts, and little literature has been produced that is worthy of preservation.

As we have already said, the distribution of Slavic peoples in the directions which we have followed in the present and preceding chapters extends with rather indefinite demarkation on the side of Germany. The Slavs have in many places made their way into what are now regarded as Teutonic borders, and have there fixed themselves in permanent residence. This statement holds good of the eastern border of the German empire and of the whole circuit of Austria-Hungary. Roumania, though inhabited by the Aryan Wallachians, has, nevertheless, a considerable percentage of Slavonic population. This is true of Bulgaria and of Servia, as we have just seen. It is also true of Montenegro and Bosnia. The line of the Upper Adriatic may, in general, be said to mark the western limits of this great dispersion. How far this point is thrown westward through Central Europe may be noted with interest by a glance at the map.

The impenetration of Germany by the Slavs.

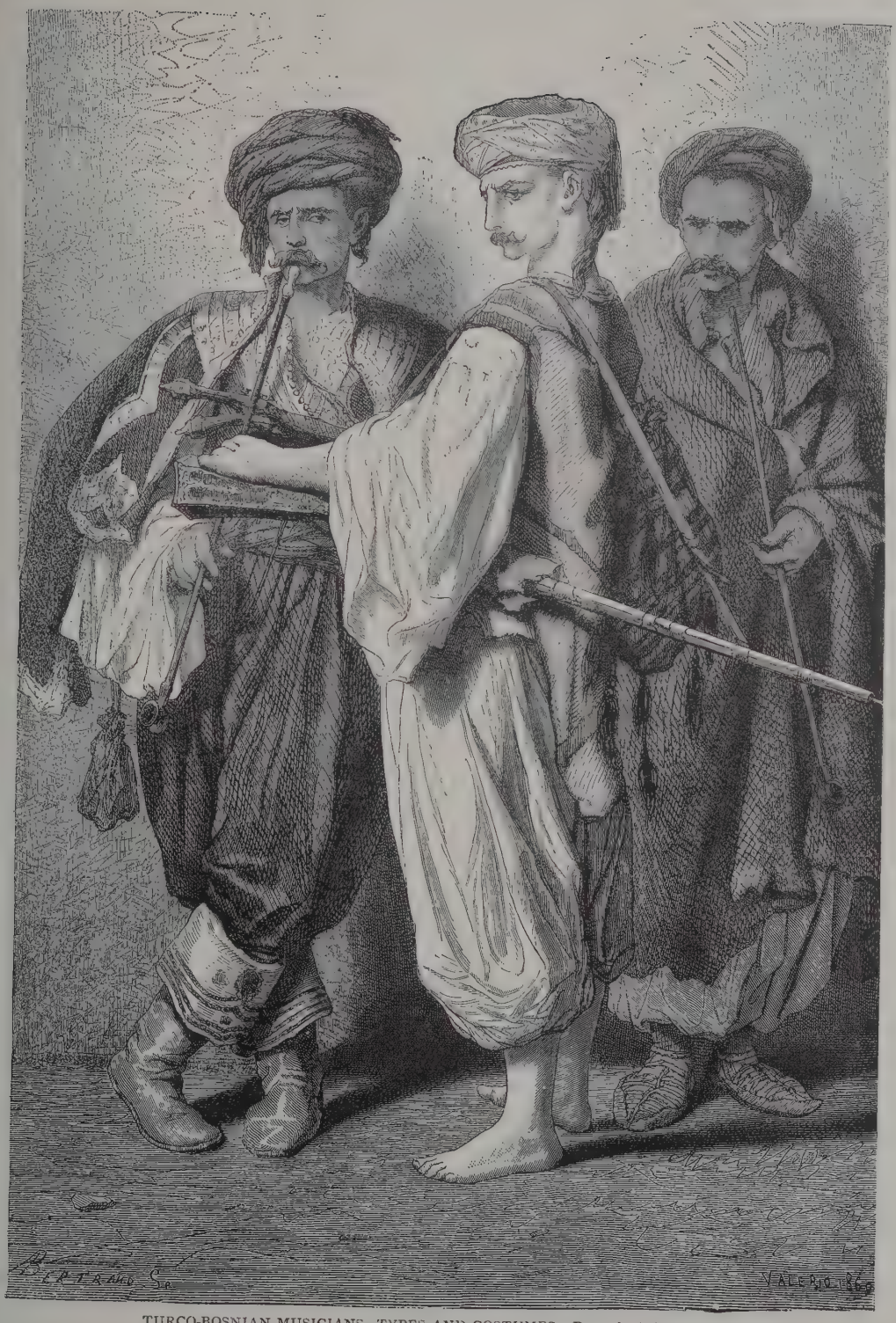
WESTERN SLAV TYPE OF MONTENEGRO.
Drawn by Valerio, from nature.

We have thus with some brevity completed the circuit of the Western Slavs. These peoples, after we pass the Poles, become of less and still less ethnic importance. The history of races is everywhere more or less involved with the history of nations. This is particularly true of the Western Slavs. Their race importance declines under the pressure of historical conditions. The Slavic stock rests upon Turkey and Germany. On account of race affinities the pressure is not much felt or resisted on the German side. The ethnic dispositions of the Slavic and Teutonic peoples have been such as to permit the interpenetration the one of the other, and this is the general aspect which they present along the borders at the present time.

Decline of the Western Slavs under political pressure.

Out of these conditions many important considerations arise, some of which relate to historical and others to ethnical possibilities. Thus, for example, in the case of the possible liberalization of the Russian government to the extent that the patriotism of the Pole and the Russ might make common cause, we should

Russ autocracy a safeguard of German imperialism.



TURCO-BOSNIAN MUSICIANS—TYPES AND COSTUMES.—Drawn by Valerio, from nature.

find a strong efflux of Slavonism westward into Germany. It may well be said that the Russian autocracy is one of the safeguards of German imperialism. The Slavic pressure in the direction of Turkey is prodigious. Nothing but the tremendous underheft of all Western Europe has been able to support the Ottoman power against the otherwise intolerable aggression of the Slavic race.

On the Turkish side there is not only pressure, but antagonism. The antagonism is whetted sharp by strong diversity of race and deep-seated religious antipathies. We thus find small Slavic interpenetration along the Turkish frontier. The pressure expresses itself by conquest. A free border on this side means conquest. On the side of Germany it means no more than a certain efflux of race conditions.

Turks hard pressed by the Slavs; a dangerous border.

Historically considered, the ethnic border which circumscribes with much indefiniteness the Slavic race on its western and southwestern frontiers is a *dangerous* border as it respects the peace of the world. From this point of view it is easy to discover the malign influence of those prejudices of blood and religion which so strongly and unnecessarily divide race from race and nation from nation, at least up to a certain stage of the human evolution. Beyond that stage such distinctions, differences, and antipathies disappear.

At the present time the highest men of many races already constitute a race by themselves—a race which is measurably above the limitations of country and ethnic antecedents. This circumstance—undeniable, if we mistake not, in the history of our age—points most clearly, conclusively, auspiciously, to a possibility shall we not say as wide as the human family itself? Of a certainty the evolution of mankind is proceeding in the direction here indicated. One of the strange results of this evolution, should it ever complete itself under its own laws, must be the perfection of the race as a whole, rendered homogeneous throughout its whole extent, and varied only according to conditions, environments, particular modes of activity and special aptitudes of thought, according to the character of the respective countries constituting our habitable globe.

The highest men constitute a race by themselves.

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LAND OF THE SEMITES. Desert and Caravan.

Part Fifth.

THE RUDDY RACES.—CONTINUED.

III.—SEMITES AND HAMITES.

BOOK XIV.—THE ARAMÆANS.

CHAPTER CII.—THE OLD ASSHURITES.

WE have now followed to its conclusion the ethnic history of the Aryan nations. We have noted the extreme dispersion of the peoples of this race from east to west, from north to south, and have traced the historical development of the various branches of the great Indo-European stock in ancient and modern times. We have attempted, in accordance with the general plan of the work, to delineate the national characteristics of these peoples—to point out with proper fullness of illustration their primitive mythology, their early adventure, their strong trend toward literature and art, their intellectual greatness, extending over several thousand years, their great abilities in statecraft and the construction of vast and regular societies, and their leadership of all other races in the production of civilization. We now approach the ethnic life-history of another branch of mankind lying nearest of all in kinship and activity with the Aryan peoples referred to in the preceding books.

General outline of subject in preceding books.

While the degree of divergence between the Semitic and the Aryan races has been sufficiently well-marked from the earliest times to the present day, the breadth of the departure is not, on the

Degree of divergence between Aryan and Semitic races.

SCENE FROM THE COUNTRY OF SHEM.—Kaleh-Toul.—Drawn by D. Lancelot, after a sketch of Houssay.

whole, so great as some have supposed. The two general forms of man-life which are here presented have many things in common. The physical outline of the one people, though plainly discriminable from the other, has the same general feature and definition. Under some conditions and in some countries the stature and physiognomy of the Semite have been not greatly different from those of his Aryan associate; but in other localities and other conditions which were calculated to develop and emphasize the personal peculiarities of each people, their ethnic traits have been so different as to present the strongest contrast. These facts and principles, however, will fully appear in the course of the history of the Semitic races upon which we are now to enter.

The term Semitic, as definitive of this group of peoples, is of Biblical origin. Shem, or Sem, was one of the sons of Noah, probably the youngest of the three who are represented as the fathers of the three great Ruddy races. It has been suggested by critics that in the twenty-second verse of the ninth chapter of Genesis the words, "Ham, the father of," should be omitted as not a part of the text, thereby making Canaan, the fourth and youngest son of Noah, to have been guilty of the offense against his father. This suggestion has further merits besides that of making the narrative easy and consistent; for it would seem to imply that the Canaan (with the meaning of Canaanites) are the descendants of Shem, Ham, *and* Japheth. This would relieve Biblical criticism of the necessity of referring the Brown and Black races of mankind to a Noachian origin. But however this may be, the word Semite has been accepted from the Hebrew Scriptures as definitive of an important group of Asiatic and African nations, some of which have perished in the wrecks of history, while others remain in their descendants to the present time.

The term Semitic; relations of Canaan to Shem.

CHALDEE WOMAN.
Drawn by Emile Bayard, from a photograph.

This group is definable with tolerable distinctness. It is doubtful, indeed, whether the Aryan peoples are susceptible of a clearer ethnic definition than are the Semites. Of the latter, speaking geographically, there are three great divisions. The first, or Northern, is represented in modern times only by certain groups of Neo-Syrians, but was in antiquity strongly developed in the so-called Aramaic nations.

Easiness of defining the Semitic group of races.

This term Aramaic is likewise of Biblical origin. Aram in Hebrew signifies the Two Rivers, meaning the region called by the Greeks Mesopotamia, as distinguished from Syria. It appears, however, from philological inquiry, that the ancient Aramæan nations extended westward and southwestward from the Euphrates to the borders of Canaan. The definition, therefore, of the first division of the Semitic races must be widened to include the ciseuphratine peoples above referred to.

Meaning of Aram; Hebraic division of Semites.

TOMB OF ESDRAS.—Drawn by A. de Bar, from a photograph by Madame Dieulafoy.

The second general division of the Semitic family we may define as the Middle, or Hebraic, branch. Geographically this division belonged originally to Western Syria, notably to Palestine, including what was known as Phœnicia, and also Samaria, besides the Holy Land proper. This branch also extended westward through certain of the Mediterranean islands, from Cyprus to Sicily, and along the African coast as far as Carthage, and possibly, in a fragmentary way, to Spain and Britain. It is needless to remark that this Middle division includes as its central fact the Hebrew, or Jewish, nation, which ethnic division has contributed in the modern Jews the only representatives of the central stock of the ancient race.

The third division is known geographically as the Southern, or, linguistically, as the Arabic branch of the Semitic family. It included ancient Ethiopia, whatever the boundaries of that geographical division may have been, the Arabian peninsula in general, reaching up in a northeasterly direction to Chaldæa, and in a westerly and southerly course as far as the so-called Himyaritic inscriptions are found distributed. This branch, like the Hebraic, is represented in modern times not only by peoples, but by nations. For the modern Arabs are of this descent, and also the Amharic tribes of Abyssinia. Such, in gen-

Arabic branch of the race; origin of Shem.

eral, is the outline of the division of the human race now under consideration.

It appears that this stock of mankind took its rise historically in certain prehistoric Armenian tribes which put themselves out by migration and war into Mesopotamia, and became at length the progenitors of the Chaldees and Assyrians. Not much can be known, except in a conjectural way, about the far-off primitive stock. We have in the Hebrew narrative an account of the sons of Shem, who are enumerated as Elam and Asshur and Arphaxad and Lud and Aram. It would seem from the last name that the countries into which these descendants were distributed were designated rather than personal ancestors. It is as though we should say that one of the sons of Shem was Between-the-Rivers.

As for the rest, there is clearly some error in the classification or in the interpretation of it, for Lud is given among the sons of Shem. It is generally understood that Lud is the patronymic of the Lydians; but this people were clearly not of Semitic extraction. The same may be said with respect to Elam, who is regarded as the father of the Elamites. These people also belonged to another division of the human race, though they were at some periods considerably intermixed with the Semites. We may therefore regard

CANAL AT BASSORAH.—Drawn by A. de Bar, from a photograph by Madame Dieulafoy.

Applications of Biblical scheme of ethnography.

the two principal divisions of the race of Shem as the descendants of the Asshur and the Arphaxad. We are told that Arphaxad begat Salah, and Salah begat Eber, or Heber; that the latter had two sons, namely, Peleg and Joktan. From the first we have in right line of descent Reu and Serug and Nahor and Terah and Abraham. From Joktan, according to common consent, are descended the so-called Joktanian, or Old Arabs, as distinguished from the later Ishmaelites.

We may here once for all consider the significance of these ancient traditional names. In the original they all give hints of *geographical localities* or other distinctive circumstances of tribal life rather than of simple personal naming, such as we should expect in the later stages of national development. Thus, for instance, Eber, or Heber, signifies "From Beyond;" that is, from beyond the river, meaning, without doubt, that the first Heberites were from beyond the Euphrates. In some cases the names are probably personal; but in others they are undoubtedly tribal and ethnic, and it is in the latter sense that they have their greater historical value.

Significance of old Semite nomenclature.

If we try to discover the first character of the Semites as they spread over the land of Aram, we are able to note their nomadic and pastoral dispositions. Perhaps all races in their first estate are of this habit; but the Mesopotamian regions were well calculated to promote, in the beginning, a pastoral form of life. It can not be doubted that a bias toward the open plain and the care of flocks existed at a very early stage of Semitic development. The country between the two great rivers, and to a certain distance west of the Euphrates, was favorable to the free life of tenting and removal. The natural products of the country were sufficiently abundant and varied to supply a considerable part of the means of subsistence, even for a numerous population, and to this must be added the easy cultivation of the rich alluvium of the valleys.

Nomadic and pastoral disposition of Aram.

Several natural conditions may be noted respecting the formative influences which determined the original character of the Semitic race. One of these had respect to building materials. The tribes of Arphaxad we may follow into Lower Mesopotamia, where the Tigris and the Euphrates lay near together, and where the whole country was an alluvial deposit. The tribes of Asshur distributed themselves further to the north and east in the great bend of the Tigris, and in the attractive countries beyond. It was in these two regions that the wandering life of the Semitic tribes was first replaced by more definite settlement and, at a later period, by nationality.

Formative forces of early Semitic character.

In the lower country, or Land of the Arphaxad, though the region was fertile in the last degree and highly favorable for the evolution of a primitive people, building materials of the common varieties were wanting. Timber trees, to a limited extent, grew along the banks of the Lower Euphrates, but no quarries of stone existed in the country. In Assyria the case was different. There, as in Egypt, building stone abounded. But while the Chaldæan plain was denied the gift of stone, it possessed certain other substances which suggested, at a very early age, the erection of permanent structures and the consequent abandonment of the wandering life. The lakes, which were

Building materials of the Aramaic countries.

formed by diverging sluices from the Euphrates and the native ponds, abounded in bitumen, and the clay of the country was excellently adapted to the making of bricks. The discovery of the use of these materials preceded in Chaldæa by many centuries the first efforts at stone cutting and regular building by the tribes of Asshur.

We may perceive in these conditions the natural processes by which the pastoral life of the primitive Semites was at length superseded by fixed abode and the regular organization of society. Another fact must also be taken into account, and that was the favorable position of the early Semites for commerce. Without doubt, the river furnishes the first and most natural channel of commercial intercourse. In the Eastern countries the river succeeded the camel. The first interchange of commodities was effected between tribe and tribe by the possessors of merchandise who carried the same in bundles, after the manner of modern peddlers. To this succeeded transportation on the camel's back. After this came the use of boats on the rivers. The great cities of antiquity were built on the banks of rivers. The reason for the choice of the situation is sufficiently obvious. Trade had begun, and the ancient city was established in such situation as to be favored by the camel and the river.

Pastoral and nomadic life becomes the commercial.

Rawlinson has remarked that the river is the highway of nature, and in no part of the world has this fact been more strongly exemplified than in the countries occupied by the Aramæan nations. The existence of two great streams reaching from the mountainous regions of Armenia to the Indian ocean invited the establishment of permanent communities on their banks. Great is the advantage which a people so situated would possess over the inland tribes. For this reason the primitive Semites were allured to the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and there built for themselves some of the oldest commercial cities in the world. But before we

Euphrates and Tigris assisted the race evolution.

BITUMEN LAKE, HINDIA.—Drawn by A. de Bar, after a sketch of Lejean.

proceed to notice the evolution of the commercial and public life of the Assyrian and Babylonian nations, let us reflect for a moment upon the antecedent nomadic life of the tribes of Aram.

Civilization may be said to begin with the domestication of animals. The wild man at length discovers the advantage of taming certain species of the wild creatures and having them always under his control. With this act the flock

Civilization begins with domestication of animals.

RIVER TRAFFIC.—Transporting Milk in Leathern Bottles.—Drawn by A. de Neuville, after a sketch of Lejean.

and the herd originate, and man himself makes a long stride toward the civilized life. To a certain extent he then gives over the chase, and exchanges the habit of a barbarian nomad for that of a wandering shepherd. The primitive history of nearly all the Oriental nations presents this transformation. Pastoral pursuits succeed to the hunting stage in the human evolution, and the outdoor tent becomes the significant sign of a new form of life.

Meanwhile a natural development of the family has taken place. The sons of one father have themselves become fathers and grandfathers with the rapid multiplication of generations. All of the family, or tribe, if so we call it, hold together, and follow the tent of the patriarch. In this way hundreds of his descendants gather around him; for his manner of life tends to longevity, and his right to rule is acknowledged by his descendants and kinsmen. As the seasons ebb and flow the flocks must be driven and attended from place to place,

How the clan arises; the ager publicus.

for landownership is as yet unknown, and every man's herd has a right to what it can find on the common plain. The whole country is an *ager publicus* over which none have the proscriptive rights of ownership.

Such is the origin of the pastoral life and of patriarchic government as we discover it on the remote horizon of the ancient world. Among the different pastoral tribes trade would soon spring up, and sometimes war. There would be an interchange of commodities, the beginnings of barter, the use, perhaps,

Manner of the evolution of the primitive city.

SHEPHERDS AND FLOCKS AT THE WELLS.—Drawn by Laurent Desrousseaux, after a sketch of Houssay.

of a metallic medium of exchange—the invention of money by weight. As soon as these conditions appear distinctions in wealth would arise. There would be great herdsmen and small. The division of labor would soon suggest merchandise as a profession, and with that would come the establishment of the primitive city. While the herdsmen and masters of flocks would continue to camp in the open champaign, the thrifty trader would abandon the pastoral life and build for himself a wharf and a house of merchandise.

VIEW OF BABYLON.

The prophet Nahum, having in his vision the swarming tradesmen of Nineveh, says, "Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven." Ezekiel, speaking more elaborately of the commercial life of the Aramæans, says, "Haran and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants. These were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in blue clothes and broidered work and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar, among thy merchandise." In another place the same prophet represents the Asshurites as making for the Tyrians benches of ivory. We thus catch glimpses from the writings of the Hebrew seers of the rise and development of the commercial life among the primitive peoples of Aram.

Semitic visions of commerce and luxury.

In considering the early distribution and first civilization of the descendants of the Asshur and the Arphaxad, we are apt to fix our attention upon the two great centers of Babylon and Nineveh, with their surrounding aggregations of cities and monuments, to the exclusion of the more extended life of the Semitic peoples. Babylon and Nineveh were not by any means the only large cities which were founded on the banks of the Mesopotamian rivers. On the Euphrates was the city of Tiphsach, so-called by Strabo, better known by its Xenophonian name of Thapsacus. There also on the Tigris was the wealthy and populous Opis, second only to Nineveh

Old cities of the Asshur and the Arphaxad.

HIGHWAY OF NATURE.—Kelek (Commercial Raft) on the Tigris.—Drawn by A. de Neuville, after a sketch of Lejean.

in renown and power. Other cities of which history has preserved but small record were built in favorable riparian situations, and villages were multiplied as the nations grew great and opulent.

In another part of the author's works he has presented with sufficient amplitude the food supply and natural resources of the Assyrian race.[1] It is not needed that what is said in that connection should be here repeated. The subject has been elaborately investigated by Rawlinson and others, who have studied with critical care the ancient and modern productions of the Mesopotamian plateau.[2] The order of our investigation leads us, however, to notice briefly the commercial life which sprang up and flourished among the Northern Aramæans, particularly from the Ninevite capital.

The navigation of the Tigris for the interchange of commodities began at a very early period. The full volume and swift current of the river easily carried the primitive merchandise of the Asshurites to the Indian ocean. At the same time an overland commerce was established with the Phœnicians. It appears, however, that the Assyrians were little disposed to engage in commerce by sea. This work they left to the Chaldees of the Lower Euphrates, and the Phœnicians on the Mediterranean coast. But the navigation of the Tigris by the boats and ships of Asshur was undertaken at a very early period both for merchandise and for war.

Early navigation of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

The use of river boats for these purposes was promoted, and, indeed, made necessary by the peculiar character of the river. Both the Tigris and the Euphrates have ever been subject to excessive floods, in so much that to the present day no bridges across stream are able to stand at any point between the mountain spurs, from which the rivers issue on the north, and the Persian gulf. Bridges of boats were, therefore, a necessity even from antiquity. The early movements of the Assyrian armies were effected in this manner from Mesopotamia to the East, and in later periods the Romans adopted the same expedient.

With the development of nationality among the Assyrians their taste for luxurious living greatly intensified the demand for foreign products. While the great despotism of the Assyrian kings was established, the pride and lust of the conquering race called ever for new supplies of the arts and the manufactures which were successfully practiced in distant parts of the world. It was out of the two circumstances of commerce and war that the Ninevites grew to be one of the strongest peoples of the ancient world.

The Assyrians grow great by commerce and war.

The inscriptions which have been so abundantly recovered from the buried cities of Assyria enable us to trace the development of navigation from its simplest to its most elaborate form. The first men of Asshur were wont to cross the river by means of inflated skins, after the manner of the half-wild tribes of antiquity. Following this, we have representations of rude rafts constructed of logs of wood—mere floats, upon which, however, considerable companies of people or large burdens of property might be conveyed from side to side. Such structures are still employed by the Kurds in the navigation of the Tigris, in a manner no doubt

Evolution of navigation; primitive methods.

[1] See Ridpath's *Cyclopædia of Universal History*, Vol. I, pp. 139–149.

[2] See Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. I, pp. 210–235.

identical with that of their ancestral river captains of three thousand years ago.

To the raft succeeded boats of various patterns and measures of utility. As early as the last quarter of the twelfth century B. C., we find among the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I cuts and descriptions of the coracles which were used in the navigation of the river, and which must needs remind the reader of the Welsh boats of wicker work and skins used at the present day. These were of sufficient size to carry a considerable amount of merchandise. They were propelled by oars, and were broad, deep, and tub-like in their general appearance. These coracles also have their representatives among the river Kurds of the present day. The modern boat is called a *kufa*, is circular in form, and is much used on both the Tigris and the Euphrates.

The sculptures and inscriptions of Nineveh show also the uses to which the primitive boats were put. Sometimes they are rowed by two oarsmen only, and contain, perhaps, a single war chariot for transportation. Those of a later period are laden with building materials, general merchandise, military supplies, squads of Assyrian soldiers, and domestic animals. At length the round boat is succeeded by the long boat. The galley takes the place of the coracle. Many oarsmen are substituted for the few. A difference is discoverable between war boats and boats of commerce. The inscriptions indicate the rapid expansion of Assyrian power, and correspond to the various stages through which the great people of Asshur passed during the several centuries of their growth and ascendency.

Propulsion of boats by oars; first merchandise.

PRIMITIVE BLADDER BOAT ON THE TIGRIS.

On the whole, however, it may be said that the spirit of war among the Northern Semites prevailed over the spirit of production and commerce. The fatal and barbarous discovery was made that it was easier and more glorious to take by conquest from the neighboring na-

The spirit of conquest prevails in Asshur.

tions the means of gratification and the resources of pride than to gain the same by laborious production or the honest processes of trade. The Assyrian cities, and Nineveh in particular, were great by means of commerce. The marts of trade along the Tigris and the Euphrates were filled with commodities from Media and Armenia and Babylon and the Phœnician cities on the Mediterranean; but they were greater by war, and were filled more abundantly with the spoils of war. The notices and hints of commerce as one of the elements of national greatness disappear by degrees from the inscriptions, and the story becomes a continuous and hyperbolical epic of conquest and spoliation.

The matter presented in these pages is not intended to extend to the commercial history of the Assyrian nations, but merely to elucidate the conditions under which the Semitic character was formed. The two great impressions which were stamped upon that character in its earliest ethnic development were commercial activity and the lust of war. Among the Northern Aramæans the latter passion prevailed over the former, and the race of Asshur became in its latter career a race of warriors and conquerors rather than a race of tradesmen and money changers. While Nineveh and the other Assyrian cities continued to be, down to the time of the Median conquest, strongly commercial in their activities—while they continued to gain

The Asshurites a race of warriors and spoliators.

BAS-RELIEF OF KOYUNJIK.

their full share of the resources of other peoples by overland and river trade—they relied upon foreign conquest for their wealth and splendor and power. It was under these conditions that the industrial life of the northern peoples of Aram was fixed, partly by natural and partly by artificial conditions, at a period long antecedent to the rise of the civilized life in Europe.

We may here properly consider the social life of the Aramæans, as the same was developed in Northern Mesopotamia. The prevalence of polygamy is the first great fact which the sociologist discovers in the history of the Eastern races. Recent investigations have tended, as we shall hereafter explain, to show that before the polygamous stage in the evolution of the family a system of polyandry usually prevailed—that the first stage after the merely miscellaneous union of the sexes was that system which makes the line of descent by the female, and joins with her the men of the tribe as husbands. Of this stage, however, we have no account among the early Semitic peoples. At the present day the system is prevalent among many races in a state of savagery and semibarbarism; but the aspect of life under such conditions is more primitive than that which we are able to discover on the horizon of Semitic history.

Prevalence of polygamy among Northern Semites.

The Aramæans, as we find them at the first, had a family system based on polygamy. This was the universal form of marriage. The patriarch took to wife several women of his own clan or of some neighboring clan, and the tribe was thus rapidly multiplied. The sons also, and the grandsons, as soon as they grew to the marital age, followed the example of the patriarch, and thus drew to themselves numerous households. We here speak of conditions which prevailed in the pastoral stage, before the establishment of the larger and more regular system of the commercial cities.

Multiple marriage a concomitant of patriarchical life.

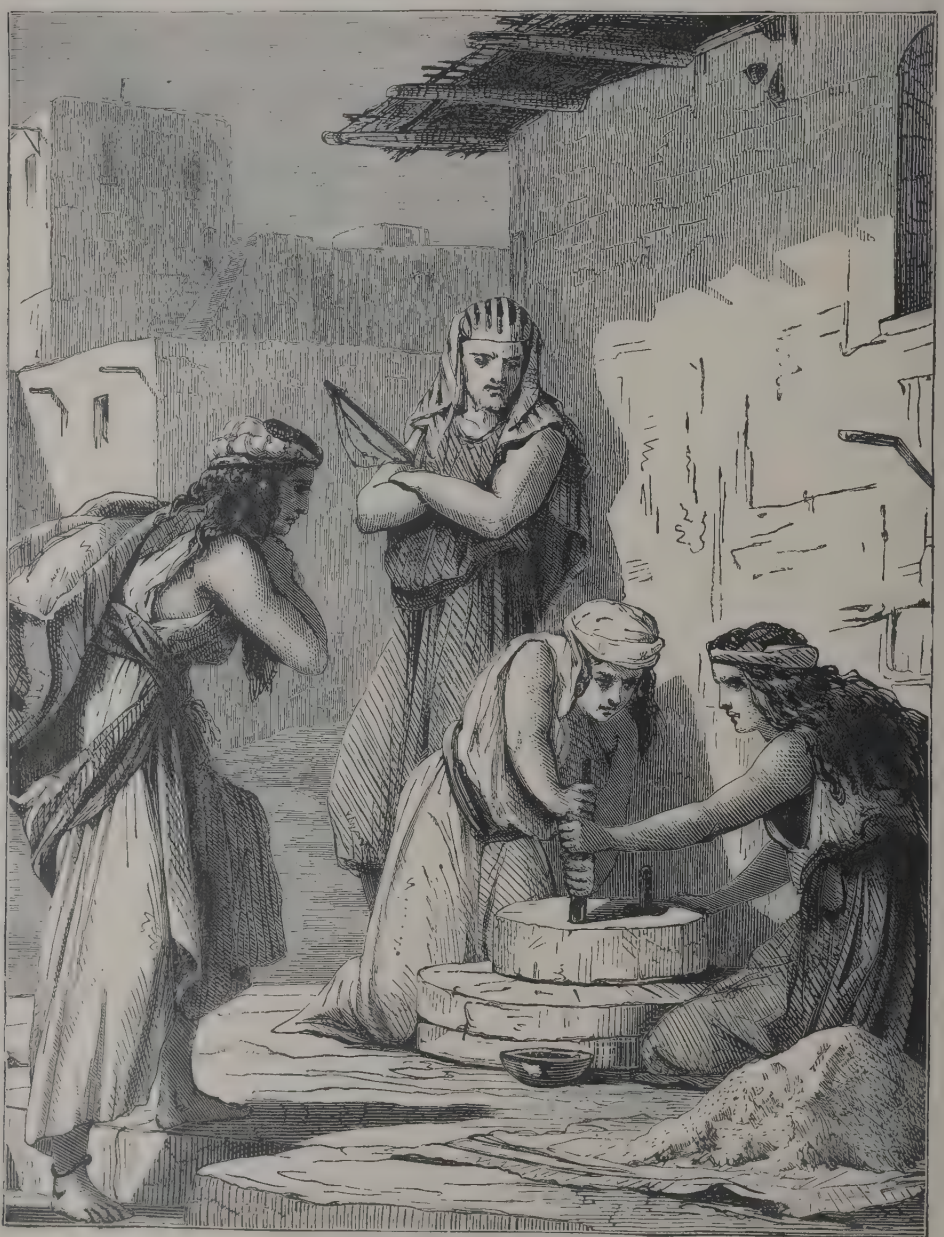
Polygamy was regarded by the Aramæans as the most efficient system for the rapid production of a great population. The success of the patriarchical clan depended upon its numbers and strength. It was always desirable that the wandering tribe should have at its disposal a considerable body of armed men; for robbery and war were the necessary concomitants of the pastoral life. The populous tribe, or clan, was comparatively secure against aggression. It took possession of the best regions of country, while the weaker clans were obliged to content themselves with the remainder. Any social system which tended to the rapid augmentation of numbers was well calculated to impress itself upon the shepherds and herdsmen of the East, and to be accepted by them, not only as natural and advantageous, but as of divine command.

Efficiency of the system in rapid production of clans.

Among the people of Asshur polygamy was practiced to the exclusion of all other forms of marriage. The result of the system was the abasement of woman. With very few exceptions the women of Asshur were remanded to the condition of social slaves. Even in the few instances in which the women of the race emerged into prominence and renown, their fame rests rather on tradition and apocrypha than on historical inscriptions and other authentic data. Under the system of polygamy the reproduction of men becomes the prime intent of society, and the woman necessarily falls to the level of a mere means unto the desired end.

Fall of Semitic women under polygamous usages.

At a later period, when the wandering life gives place to the settled life of the tribe gives place to the motive of pleasure and sensual gratification, the insti-



CHALDEE WOMEN IN SERVITUDE.

city, and when the usefulness of polygamy for the rapid multiplication of the tution becomes centered in that *harem* which has survived in Oriental societies

for more than three thousand years. Properly defined, the harem signifies that portion of a polygamist's house which is set off and secluded for the occupation of the women. By a figure of speech, it also denotes the group of wives which the lord of the house possesses; that is, the occupants of the harem proper. At a very early period in Assyrian and Babylonian history the system of polygamy became thus constitutional among the leading communities of the Semitic race.

City harem arises out of pastoral polygamy.

During the Chaldee ascendency, and afterwards in the age of Assyrian greatness, when Nineveh was the capital of the world, and still later, in the times when Babylon arose on the ruins of her ancient renown to a splendor hitherto unknown among the cities built by men, polygamy flourished as the legal and universal form of marriage, and it was in these periods that the system, as developed in the harem, became elaborate, formal, and immovably established in the history of the race. In this form the institution was handed down at last to the Mohammedans; by them recognized as the foundation of society, and perpetuated to the present time. Here-

Law of multiple marriage flourishes among Aramæans.

DOMESTIC LIFE AND MANNERS.—Going Forth to Labor.

after we shall note, when considering the constitution of Arabian society, the doctrine of the Koran with regard to polygamy, and the details of the system as practiced and upheld by the Moslems.

Men only recognized in the annals of the race.

The reader of Assyrian annals must be impressed with the singular predominance of man and the absence or subjugation of woman in the history of the nation. The sculptures represent men. The cylinder tablets record the stories of men. The monuments of all kinds are commemorative of men and their deeds. For men the feast is spread. The whole public and private life of the people seems to have significance only as it relates to men. Out of this condition many of the qualities for which the Assyrians are noted historically may be interpreted and explained. It is one of the truisms of history that the cruelties, barbarities, warlike lusts, fury of conquest, haughtiness, arrogance, contempt of human kind, greed, gluttony, and pride of the senses are proportional to the gap between the life of man and that of woman in the society of a given people. In proportion as the sexes have attained a common rank and equality of rights, just in that degree has the spirit of humanity appeared to illumine and subdue the world of violence and cruelty. Among the ancients the heartlessness of the Assyrian race stood out as a national characteristic, and the origin of it may be discovered in the servitude of the women of Asshur under the system of polygamy and the lordship of the men in the free gratification of their passions.

A large part of the domestic and the public life of the Assyrians may be explained by a further consideration of their commerce. The country lay, as we have said, in a very advantageous situation between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Indian ocean. In so far as trade was established between the East and the West, it must pass by way of Mesopotamia. A glance at the map will show that the all-water route by way of the Red sea, the Egyptian canal, and the Nile into the Mediterranean, was less desirable to the Oriental merchants than the overland route by way of Assyria. At the same time the country held a position on a cross trade line extending from northeast to southwest; that is, from the countries occupying the Eastern Armenian chain to Old Arabia. On the east Assyria was immediately connected with Media, while on the west several commercial lines stretched out into Syria.

Forms of public life arose from commerce.

We thus see that Nineveh, as the capital of the Assyrian race, might well be an emporium for merchandise from almost every quarter of the compass. That great city of Asshur became at an early date a mart where the miners of many regions disposed of their gold, tin, ivory, and lead. Precious stones were sent thither from many fields, together with pearls and rare shells and cedar wood for costly building. The search which has been made among the ruins of the Assyrian cities has been rewarded with many discoveries of such articles, dropped aforetime from the lap of Assyrian luxury, and the sculptures give us accounts and indications of many more. The presence of such costly materials among the merchandise of the Assyrian capital suggested the practice of many of the arts, particularly of those which related to personal adornment and the gratification of social vanities. In pursuing the inquiry, the reader is constantly reminded of the

Advantages of Nineveh as an emporium of trade.

NINEVITE MANNERS.—Procession of the Bull.—From Ledyard's *Nineveh.*

analogy which has been many times pointed out between the social and civil life, the manners, habits, and passions of the men of the Tigris and those of the men of the Tiber.

We catch significant glimpses of the life and thought of the people of Upper Mesopotamia from the sculptures which, at the time of their ascendency, they produced and left behind. Of these, one of the principal features is magnificence of dress. It would appear that no limit was placed to the extravagance of costume and the richness of personal decorations. It is probable that no modern court approaches in the elaborate styles of clothing and adornment to that which was constantly witnessed in the halls, not only of the Ninevite kings, but in the palaces and feasting rooms of the Assyrian nobility.

Ninevite sculptures signify extravagance and luxury.

The reader of history is doubtlessly acquainted with the leading historical vicissitudes of the Assyrian race. The author, in another part of his writings,[1] has given the chronology and annals of this strong stock of mankind during the several centuries of its ascendency. For the present it suffices to note the overthrow of the kingdom in the time of Saracus, by the Medes, in the year 625 B. C. Such cataclysms among the states of antiquity, however, were not so tremendous in the immediate changes which they effected as the story of ancient conquest is likely to suggest. The reader generally gains an exaggerated notion of the transformation effected by the victory of one army over another, and the capture of a capital. These

Downfall of Assyria tends to transform the Asshurites.

NINEVITE MANNERS AND COSTUMES.

[1] See Ridpath's *Cyclopædia of Universal History*, Vol. I, pp. 162–190.

shocks do not, as a matter of fact, extinguish the nationality of the subjugated people. Their public and political life is transformed and supplanted by other powers. But the masses of the people constituting a given division of mankind are not exterminated and replaced by men of another stock. This was true in the instance before us. Nineveh was sacked by the Medes, and Saracus, the last of Assyrian kings, died, either by the enemy's assault or by his own act. But the race of Asshur continued to occupy these countries during the ages when Rome was mistress of the world, and afterwards when the Crescent was carried triumphantly through the countries of Western Asia.

CHAPTER CIII.—THE MODERN KURDS.

ONE of the most interesting inquiries which the student of human history finds in the field before him is that which considers the modern descendent races and representatives of the peoples of ancient renown. In what sense, for instance, do the Italians represent the Roman race? To what degree and measure may we discover the ancient Greek in the descendent Suliote and Albanian? The same question recurs, but more obscurely, in our search for the living representatives of the ancient race of Asshur. In general, we may accept the Kurds as preserving all the ethnic life that still exists of the ancient race; but the preservation is very indefinite, and the effort to follow the lines of descent scarcely worth the making. On the east the Persic Aryans have contributed a large admixture of race elements, and on the west the Turcomans have not only subdued, but greatly modified, the Kurdish stock. Nevertheless, the great basin of the Tigris has never ceased to be peopled, and we may conceive of the transmission of the ancient ethnic life through all the devastations of time and circumstance until it evolves in the peoples of modern Kurdistan.

Modern Kurds preserve ethnic traits of Aramæans.

It was thought until recent times that the Kurds are the descendants of the ancient Carduchi, who opposed themselves to Xenophon and the ten thousand on their ever memorable retreat. The name appears in the Assyrian tongue as Gardu, or Kardu, and the ethnic terms seem originally to have designated a Turanian nation lying rather to the north, and, so to speak, hanging over the countries and cities of Asshur. It is believed that during the Assyrian ascendency the Kardu maintained a semiïndependence. After the capture of Nineveh, however, by the Medes, the Kurds coalesced with the conquering race, and presently became predominant in the broad region which they have ever since occupied. We must note, moreover, that the Median conquest of Assyria, and the subsequent interfusion of that powerful stock with the peoples inhabiting the basin of the Tigris, necessarily gave an Aryan caste to the subsequent development of the Kurdish race. It is for this reason that the classification of the modern Kurds is so difficult; but there are good grounds for regarding them as the lineal, though

Tradition and development of the Kurdish race.

SCENE IN KURDISTAN.—Route by the Araxes.—Drawn by T. Taylor, from a photograph.

greatly modified, descendants of the ancient Assyrians. We may be sure that in the vicissitudes of history and during the time of the Roman ascendency they gathered up whatever remained of the ethnic life of the great Assyrian peoples, whose political nationality was destroyed by the Medes.

The country now occupied by the Kurdish race is partly within the limits of the Persian empire, and partly within the dominions of Turkey. The country extends from about the parallel of thirty-four to thirty-nine north, and from the meridian of thirty-nine to forty-seven east from Greenwich. The area is approximately forty thousand square miles. The population has of late years been tolerably well determined for the several Turkish pashalics and for the Persian provinces. The latter contain a population of about seven hundred and fifty thousand, and the former one million five hundred thousand, making a total of two million two hundred and fifty thousand.

PASTORAL KURDS—TYPES.—Drawn by F. Courboier, from a photograph.

Extent and general character of Kurdistan.

The modern Kurds are divided into two classes: those who continue the pastoral and migratory habit of life, and those who have become sedentary in towns and villages. The uplands and mountainous districts of Mesopotamia are mostly occupied by the nomads, while along the river courses, particularly on

The Kurds divided into pastoral and sedentary tribes.

KURD CITY-TYPES.—Bazaar at Djoulfa.—Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph by Madame Dieulafoy.

the banks of the Tigris, villages have been established. Some of these occupy the sites of ancient cities. Perhaps no country in the world, with the exception of Egypt, Greece, and Italy, so much abounds in interesting antiquities as does Kurdistan. The inscriptions of the country go back through all forms of record to the cuneiform writing of the Assyrians. The traveler through this region stumbles ever and anon upon some unmistakable evidence of the pre-occupation of the country by civilized races; but it requires the skill of an antiquary to determine to what epoch the various monuments, inscriptions, and remains of architecture belong.

Ancestral pride grows rank; preservation of family records.

One of the striking peculiarities of the ethnic life of the Kurds is ancestral pride. It is in this particular that they are most strongly allied in character with the Semitic peoples. Genealogies are preserved and recorded by the Kurdish families, with a care and vanity which might well remind one of the habits of the ancient patriarchs. It is not uncommon to find a chieftain who has a record of an ancestry, real or fictitious, reaching back for a period of five hundred years. This circumstance is a point of honor among the Kurds, and those who can adduce the longest ancestral line are held in greatest esteem.

Divisions and pursuits of the people.

By pursuits, the people are divided into three classes: warriors, herdsmen, and traders. The first are held in highest honor; the second, besides their pastoral life, engage in agricultural pursuits; and the third are the shopmen, mechanics, and laborers of the villages and towns. The wealthier families live in stone dwellings, topped with peculiar circular towers; but the poorer classes abide in huts and tents.

Many races and religions affect Kurdish character.

The religious life of the Kurds furnishes, as we may well suppose, a complex and curious study. In it there are evidences of Semitism and Aryan mythology, touches of Mohammedanism, and traces of many original pagan superstitions. Publicly the religion of Kurdistan is the Shiïte variety of Mohammedanism; but the beliefs and practices of the people have departed greatly from the Arabian standards of orthodoxy. Secret ceremonies are prevalent, based on certain esoteric doctrines such as that the deity must always be visibly incarnated in *some* form on earth. It is held that the line of Moses and David and the Christ and Ali is continued in at least one living representative, making the incarnation permanent from age to age. Almost every community has its Ali-Ollahi, or local godhead—a personage supposed to contain a measure of deity incarnated, to whom the members of the tribe render idolatrous service. There are certain localities which, like the ancient oracles, are held in superstitious awe. In some cases the rights and honors of the godhead are hereditary in certain families. In a word, the severe simplicity of the original Islamite faith has degenerated in many parts of Kurdistan to a condition below the level of an intelligent paganism.

Features and bodily proportions; horsemanship.

The person and physiognomy of the Kurds are well marked, and not unattractive. The features are sharply drawn and delicate. The complexion is unusually fair. The face has great amplitude, and the forehead is broad and high. The eyes are bright, and though deep-set and dark, have an expression of kindly intelligence. Like the Persians, the Kurds have fine mustaches, and well-shaped, even beautiful, hands

SHÜTE MYSTERIES OF HOUSSEM.—Drawn by Tofani, from a photograph by Madame Dieulafoy.

and feet. The proportion of the body is perfect, and the bearing of the person elegant and easy. There have not been wanting critical judges who have pronounced the Kurds the finest people physically of all the Asiatics. The outdoor life, which still to a great measure prevails, has done much to preserve the elasticity and sinewy strength of the people. As horsemen, they are almost as expert as the ever-memorable Medo-Persians of antiquity. The Kurdish women in youth are as beautiful as any to be found east of the Mediterranean; but it has been observed by travelers that their beauty fades at an early period of life, giving place to the shriveled aspect of premature old age.

The national costume approximates the habits of Persia and Turkey. The male apparel consists principally of a black cloak woven of goat's wool. The head is covered with a red cap, and around this is thrown a shawl of parti-colored silk which falls down about the shoulders. The men, except in advanced age, wear no beards; but the mustache is almost universal. The women go unveiled except among the higher nobility, and the faces of even princesses and noble ladies may be seen without dishonor. It is evident that the Semitic principle governing the sexual relations, and including polygamy as its principal feature, has been to a considerable extent modified in Kurdistan by the influence and impact of Aryan peoples and by the admixture of Aryan blood in the Kurds themselves.

Habits and costumes show traces of Aryan influence.

The social and political character of these people has impressed itself unfavorably upon travelers and antiquarians. The Kurdish reputation is as bad as any of Western Asia. The position of the race between the Turks on one side and the Persians on the other has subjected the people to many hardships and outrages which in course of time have told upon the national character. Mohammedanism, also, has done much to prejudice the minds of the Kurds against all Christians, and to fill the latter with distrust and suspicion of the former. Kurdistan is rarely at peace with the neighboring countries. Frequently there are intestinal wars. In some districts the men of the tribe have the character of brigands. Lawlessness and audacity go hand in hand. The Armenians, Jacobites, and Nestorian Christians who chance to fall without protection into the hands of the Kurds are generally oppressed and robbed—according to opportunity. It is claimed, however, that the people have in them a strain of courage and hospitality coupled with a sense of half-civilized honor, and that these qualities redeem the popular character from the dislike and fear which it would otherwise inspire.

Bad fame of the Kurds; lawlessness and audacity.

A general discussion of the character of the Semitic languages is reserved for a future chapter. Of the language of the Kurds not much critical knowledge has been obtained by scholars. Their dialect is called the Kermanji. As might be expected, it shows evidence of multifarious derivation. One element presents a deteriorated form of Persic; another preserves the evidence of the ancient descent from a primitive Semitic, that is, a Chaldee, tongue. There are also traces of Turanian derivation. Like most modern languages the Kermanji is composite, but the language has a considerable degree of unity and some literary capacities. In certain districts of Kurdistan, particularly in the mountain regions to the north, dialects

Characteristics of the Kermanji language.

are spoken different from the common speech. In the province called Deyrsim the patois can not be understood by those who speak Kermanji. In this part the common tongue has been infected with Armenian and Cappadocian dialects. In Ardelan and Kermanshah also the Kurdish has been replaced with a tongue in which there is no longer more than a trace of a Semitic origin.

The Kurdish language seems capable of supporting literary production. The Persian poets known to fame have been rendered into Kurdish with success. There are also native tales and ballads by Kurd bards which have been found worthy of admiration. Out of these, indeed, the qualities of the language have been determined. European scholars have produced grammars and dictionaries of Kurdish, and the New Testament was translated into the language as early as 1857.

Premonitions of a Kurdish literary development.

CHAPTER CIV.—THE CHALDEES AND BABYLONIANS.

HILE the race of Asshur was thus developed and ran its course of somewhat more than thirty centuries in Upper Mesopotamia, the Arphaxad was planted in the country to the south, and there rose into nationality. The latter, indeed, preceded the former in the ethnic evolution. A space of perhaps a thousand years lies between the date of the historical origin of the Chaldees and that of the Assyrians. We are indebted to modern inquiry for a knowledge of the fact that beneath the later Babylonians and their history lies a more ancient race, which in its age of activity produced one of the earliest civilizations of mankind.

The relation between the primitive Chaldees and the Babylonians is the same which we find between many early and later peoples of the same stock and country. The Babylonians are to be regarded as the secondary development of the Chaldee race, perhaps the more powerful and distinguished, but hardly the more interesting of the two. The latter had power and fame and riches and renown among the nations; but the former had a certain intellectual renown and greatness which may well associate them in ancient history with the old Egyptians and the seer-race of India.

Relations of the Old Chaldees to the Babylonians.

The primitive tribes of the Arphaxad, still nomadic and pastoral in manner of life, spread themselves over the alluvial plains of Lower Mesopotamia before the twentieth century B. C. The country invited to population and the civilized life almost as strongly as did Egypt. The natural resources of Chaldæa were of themselves sufficient to encourage the institution of society, and to satisfy a major part of the wants peculiar to people in the primitive stages of development. The food supply, even before the land was placed under cultivation, was as abundant as might be found in any other part of the earth. The author has already recounted in another part of his works the extent and variety of the products of the Chaldæan plain.[1] The

Outspread of the Arphaxad into Lower Mesopotamia.

[1] See Ridpath's *Cyclopædia of Universal History*, Vol. I, pp. 106–107.

fertility of the soil was inexhaustible. Vegetation was luxuriant to a degree, and many of the things which grew from the earth were not only edible, but delicious to the taste.

All the early travelers were astonished at the unusual abundance of the gifts of nature in the lower valley of the Euphrates. The food-bearing plants were of extraordinary growth and fruitfulness, and the edible animals and birds abounded by river and gulf and land. The climate, too, without being tropical in the proper sense, was mild, and the atmosphere salubrious. The products of the country had a multifarious adaptation to the wants of man, thus suggesting not only the gratification of immediate desires, but the exchange of commodities. Strabo informs us that an Eastern poet had enumerated *three hundred and sixty values* in the date-bearing palm. Certain it is that from that tree only the Chaldees were able to obtain bread and wine, vinegar and honey, ropes and strings, firewood and sour mash for their cattle. Next after Egypt it is likely that what we call wheat and barley grain were first developed in primitive Chaldæa, as were also millet, sesame, and several other varieties of valuable grains and grasses. The same is true of fruits and vegetables, not a few of which were known here at a date when nearly all the rest of the world was in barbarism and night.

Great abundance of the Euphratine valley.

In the midst of such favorable and favoring conditions the early race of Arphaxad began its career. Ethnically, we may hardly know with certainty the constitution of the old Chaldees. The contention still goes on as to whether they were Semites proper or rather of Hamitic extraction. Perhaps the solution of the controversy will ultimately be found in the fact that the two races so named did not disentangle themselves completely and at once, but by degrees, and never with that clearness which we note in the case of other ethnic divergences.

Uncertainty of the ethnic derivation of Chaldees.

ANIMAL LIFE—CHALDÆAN LION.

Be this as it may, the Chaldees were one of the earliest and most forceful races of mankind. Only the Egyptians, the Chinese, and the Hindus can compete with them the claim to the first place in civilization among the ancient Asiatic and African nations. At a very early age they left the simple nomadic and pastoral life, and substituted therefor the complex life of commerce, manufacture, and art. A varied industry was created. A commercial tetrarchy of four great cities was established, and these became the centers of a national life, which was in full efflorescence before the siege of Troy, and long before the expulsion of the Hebrews from Egypt.

They compete with Egyptians and Chinese for priority.

The first result of the replacement of the pastoral life with the complex life of commercial industry was to supplement the food supply and home resources of the Chaldees with the products of other countries than their own. We are able to catch no more than glimpses of the trade life and industries of the primitive race of Arphaxad in Lower Mesopotamia; but our knowledge of the commerce and manufactures of the later Babylonians enables us by inference to deduce fair conclusions relative to the industrial conditions of the ancestral race. Out of the tombs of Er and Erech, and from bricks and tablets and cylinders, we learn not a little respecting the life of the Chaldees

Glimpses of industrial life of primitive Arphaxades.

PALM GROVE OF CHALDÆA.

as far back, at least, as the sixteenth century B. C.

Primitive useful inventions; trade of the Chaldees.

At this early day many forms of manufacture and appliances of commerce had been invented. Weaving in linen and wool was one of the leading pursuits, and in this art the greatest skill had been acquired. Pottery for utility and ornament was abundantly produced, and the making of glass was known and practiced. It would appear that pungent and sweet-smelling ointments were the invention of this primitive people. At least they may compete with the Egyptians for the honor of the discovery and manufacture of such articles of personal desire.

Trade was first opened between the Chaldees and their kinsmen in Syria. The manufactures of the former were given for the oil and wine of the latter. The Syrians might be found clad in Chaldee cloaks before the age of Joshua. Money was invented by the Chaldæans, at least money by weight of precious metal. A nomenclature of money and account was invented, the rudiments of which are known to this day. It was from the Babylonians and their ancestors, the Chaldæans, that the nations of Western Syria, including the Hebrews, drew their knowledge of the use and denominations of money and account.

In course of time Chaldæa began to require for her manufactures raw material produced in distant countries. At a very remote age the Hamite Arabs began to trade up toward the cities of Mesopotamia, Thither they carried their animals, skins, and wool, offering the same in exchange for weapons, utensils, and grain. The Chaldæan plain was presently denuded of its small supply of timber. Of this, only a fringe had existed along the river banks and around the infrequent marshes. Wood for purposes of manufacture and building came into demand, and this was supplied from Armenia. Such commerce called for boating in the Euphrates from the northern sources of that stream as far down as the Chaldæan cities. Wine also was imported from Armenia. On the side of Arabia, commerce extended further and further, until the spices of Yemen, and finally the products of India, were borne in by the Persian gulf and offered in the old Babylonian market.

Early development of commerce with Hamitic Arabs.

CHALDÆAN STONE LION.
Drawn by A. de Bar, after a sketch of Lejean.

At length commercial lines were established between Chaldæa and the cities

CHALDEE TRADE WITH ARABIA.—Weighing Merchandise.—Drawn by Tofani, from a photograph by Madame Dieulafoy.

of Phœnicia. By these routes of trade the manufactures of Babylonia were carried out to the Mediterranean and to the primitive states established in the islands and, at intervals, on the shores of that sea. Later on, Babylonian interchange was established with the Greeks, and the money system of the latter is believed by Duncker to have been in a measure derived from that of the former. There was an age in which Babylon was the center of money and exchange in the same sense that London is at the present time.

Chaldæan merchandise reaches the Mediterranean.

From these conditions of production and trade it is easy to deduce the abundant resources which the Chaldees and Babylonians manifestly enjoyed at the times of their ascendency. Nor may we fail to consider the reflex effect upon the national character of this abundance. Food may be considered as one of the fundamental conditions of the civilized life. Where the food supply is varied and abundant, we may expect strength and variety in the national character. Where it is scarce and limited to a few articles, the life of the people will be meager and simple in development. It is true that elements of vice come from abundance and variety along with the elements of strength; but the age of strength fortunately precedes the age of vice. The Chaldees and their successors, the Babylonians, had each their age of strength; the first, an age of intellectual achievement and industrial growth; the other, an age of vast commerce and conquest by war.

Reflex effects of food supply on national character.

All the early peoples of the Semitic races were polygamous. It does not appear that the manner of the social and reproductive union of the sexes was much considered by them or made an important circumstance in their civilization. Consciously, not much was entertained on the subject. The early races of this stock simply adopted polygamy as a natural and efficient system for the continuous and rapid multiplication of the household and people. We should look in vain for human legislation or divine oracle on the subject. The gods of Asshur and Arphaxad seem not to have instructed their worshipers in the matter of wives or the formality by which the same should be obtained. In the polygamous practice the man himself is the chooser, and, as a rule, primitive society allows him full swing of his will and desire. He takes many or few wives according to his ability. They constitute the mothers of his family. In the nature of the case equality of rights and rank is impossible under such a state and usage.

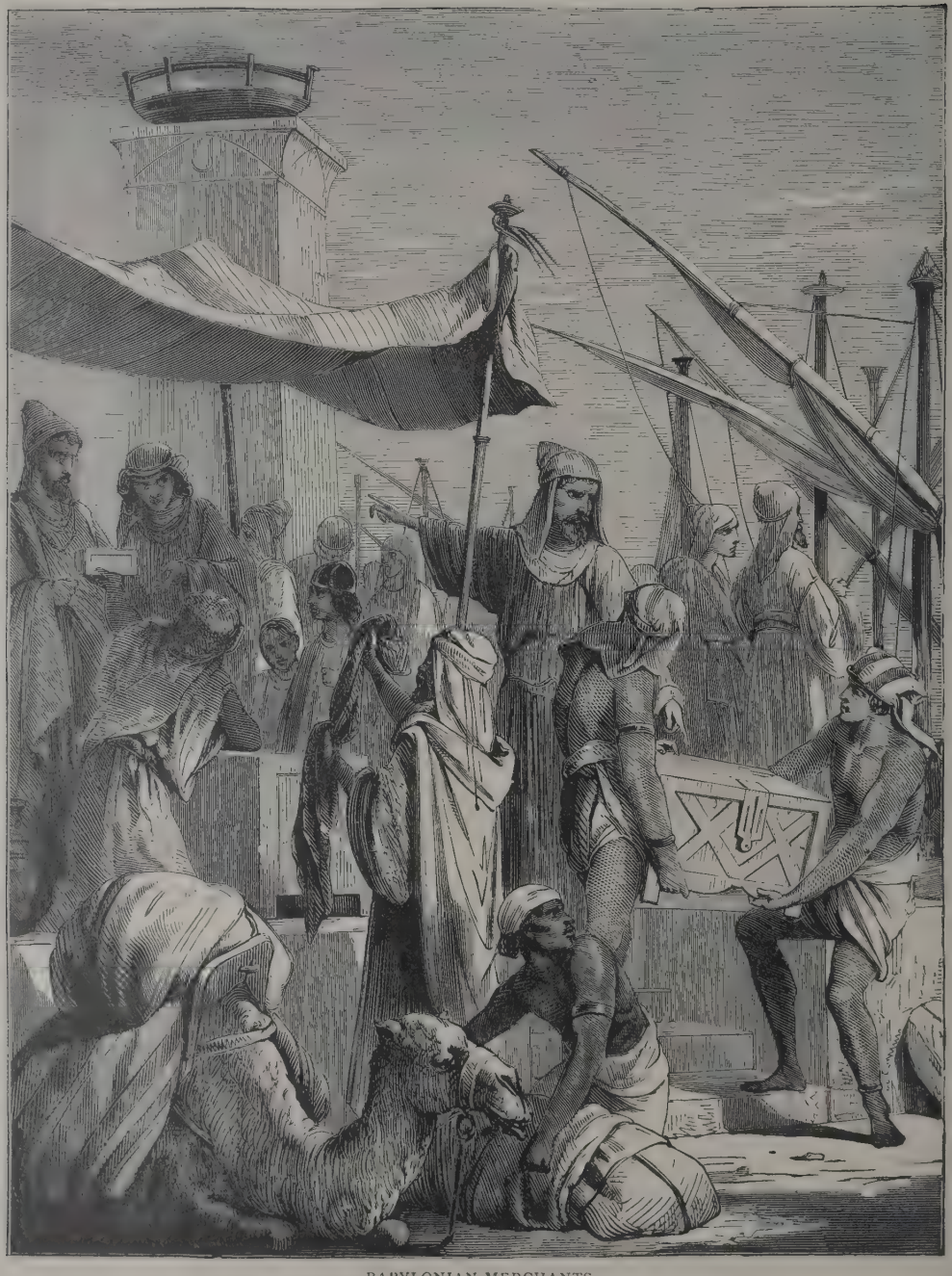
Prevalence of polygamy among the Arphaxades.

We may readily see how polygamy results as one of the products of a half-barbarous society. In such a society, as in all, woman is physically weak. Man is physically strong. Both the weakness and the strength perpetuate themselves. In the absence of moral principles a state of sexual slavery supervenes, and this the woman accepts. Nor does it appear that in a condition where all of her education and experience has pointed to multiple marriage her instincts are shocked by being joined in common with others like herself to the same man.

Natural evolution of multiple marriage system.

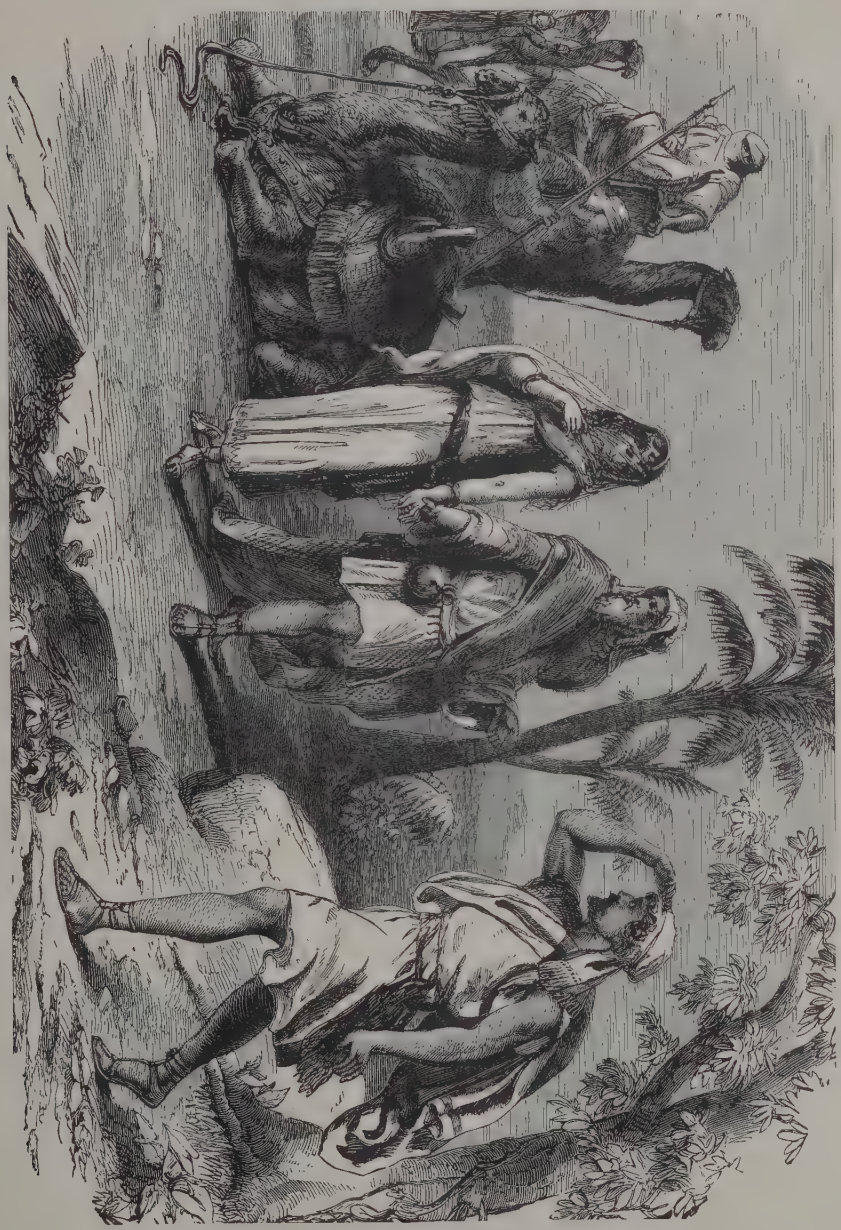
Polygamy was immemorially the custom of the East. All the races of the Shemite adopted it. The peoples of that stock, moreover, continued and have continued polygamous unto the present day, *except* in the case of the

In what manner polygamy became systematic.



BABYLONIAN MERCHANTS.

Hebrews, who, by dispersion among monogamous nations, have taken their habit and law from them. In Chaldæa we are, perhaps, near the origin of the system of multiple marriage in the earth; that is, polygamy appeared in this locality at an age when the race was just emerging from prehistoric night into the conscious state. It were hardly correct to speak of either polygamy or monog-



PATRIARCHIC CLANSMAN WITH BRIDE AND RETINUE.—Drawn by C. C. Chuzot.

amy as a *system* of sexual affiliation in the age when men were still on a level with the beasts which nature had made prone and obedient to their appetites. Animals neither marry nor are given in marriage! Indeed, the multiple marriage relation among the primitive Chaldees could hardly be called systematic. The pastoral tribes who first possessed the Babylonian plain began, by degrees, to substitute for mere community and promiscuity the principle and practice of *selection* among the women whom they took to wife. The patriarchic clan favored the growth of the rising system, and that system assumed at length some degree of regularity.

Marriage, as it existed in this far day, was little more than the choice of the male for the female of his kind. Thus chosen she became his property. It would appear that already a truer human instinct had begun to prevail. For in the earliest age of which we have any account we are able to discover a difference in the relation by which the wife was held from that by which the clansman retained his other property. He chose his wife, and presently another, and then another. These he took to his tent and held in equal relation; but he did not sell them to his fellow-tribesmen or barter them for foreign merchandise. True, the unmarried women of the tribe were frequently disposed of for commercial advantage, but the wife was not often subjected to sale. She in turn must remain faithful to her lord. She must in particular assume the duties of maternity and the joint cares of the household. When the tribe removed to other parts the wives and children of the clansman followed humbly on the master, ministering to his wants, and guarding the simple interests of his tent and flocks and merchandise.

Primitive marriage the result of barbarian instincts.

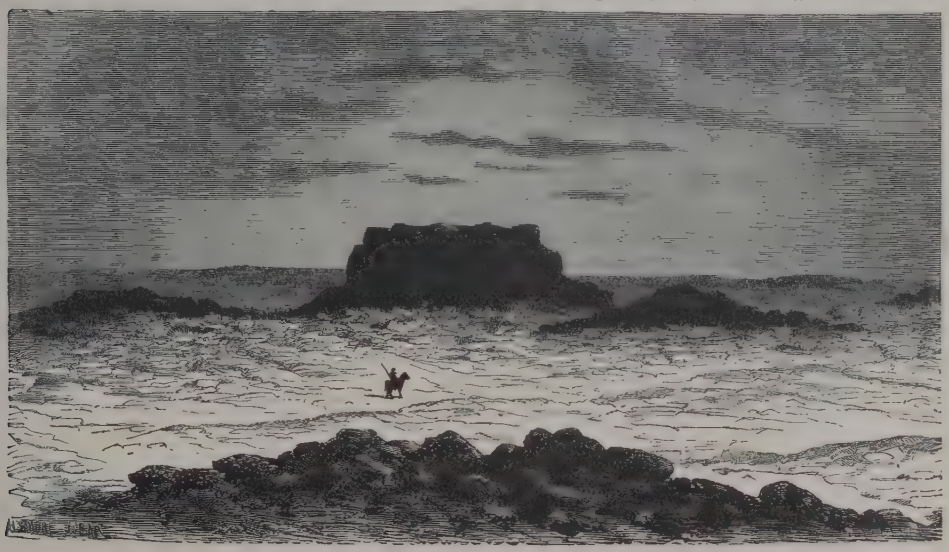
Perhaps the system tended to perpetuate itself. The gap between the man and the woman was widened rather than abridged by the polygamous usage. The man by his freedom became stronger, more intellectual, more wealthy, and the woman more enfeebled. It has been claimed, with probable truth, that the polygamous relation supports itself by the birth of an excess of female children. The subject has given rise to much controversy. False statistics have been manufactured on both sides to meet the demands of zealots in argument. It is known that in the polygamous countries of Southern and Western Asia there is a considerable excess of females; but, on the other hand, it has been found that in the Fiji islands the males are in excess. Possibly the latter condition has been brought about by circumstances which have prevailed over the natural tendency of multiple marriage. At all events, the polygamous lord among the ancient tribes of Mesopotamia was lifted greatly above his household. He was able, without restraint, according to his increasing wealth and power, to multiply his wives and thus more rapidly increase his descendants. Perhaps, in their ancient state, the father sometimes lived to recognize his own progeny in right descent to the number of several hundred. In a short time a family would thus become a clan, and the clan a tribe, capable of going to war or founding a city.

Polygamy may perpetuate itself by natural law.

Polygamy was in the first intent practiced in the family proper. The shocking custom of choosing wives of one's own blood prevailed. Brothers and half-brothers and uncles freely chose

Ethnic characteristics fixed by in-marriages.

their sisters and half-sisters and nieces in marriage. It is possible that from this circumstance arose the strong typical character which was impressed upon several of the ancient races. The physiognomy, manner, and desire of the descendent clansmen were so uniform as to carry down to posterity the type which had been fixed and emphasized by the inbred relation upon which the primal family was founded. Nor would the type readily yield when marriage was extended beyond the limits of a delegation passing from clan to clan in friendly solicitation of wives for the men of their respective kiths. The first simple relations among the tribes of the East were based in large measure upon the cross-marriages which were cultivated. Sometimes, though rarely, the man went over to the clan of his wife, joining himself to the household of his father-in-law or uncle by affinity. We may see in this the rudiments of a possible state; for ere long, partly by war and partly by marriage affiliations,



RUINS OF SIPPARA.—Drawn by A. de Bar, after a sketch of Lejean.

kinship. The more powerful ethnic peculiarity prevailed over the weaker, and the wife selected from a collateral branch of the tribe or from some foreign clan transmitted the features and manners of her lord rather than her own.

In course of time the in-marriages gave way, perhaps under the influence of a deep-seated human instinct, to out-marriages. At a very early date the pastoral lords of the Euphratine countries began to send abroad for their wives. Nothing was more common than to see many clans and tribes would unite in common enterprises.

Cross-marriage tends to produce the tribe and the state.

We here speak of a condition of affairs prevalent in lower Mesopotamia before the age of city building and foreign commerce. At length, as we have seen, the pastoral and nomadic condition began to develop into the sedentary life. Permanent habitations were chosen, and the clans began to break up into communities. Then were founded those old Chaldæan towns, the ruins of which still astonish the traveler and in-

Chaldæan society transformed to civic aspects.

struct the antiquarian. Then Babel and Erech and Accad and Calneh began to be "in the land of Shinar." With this transformation from what we may call a rural to a city life, polygamy passed from the form of a custom to the form of an institution. That which had been usage was graduated into law. The wandering pastoral family, with its one lord and many wives and children, was transmuted into the polygamous city, or townhouse, with its *andronitis* and its *hareem*, or woman's quarter, with its seclusion and mysteries. Thenceforth the multiple marriage system, becoming institutional, was fixed in the acceptance, belief, and faith of the Semitic races.

It were, perhaps, impossible to determine to what extent polygamy was diffused among the other Semitic peoples from Babylonia as a center. Perhaps the institution grew spontaneously among the tribes of Shem in Asshur and Aram and Syria, as well as in the lower country which was its primitive seat. The student of history has accustomed himself to expect the polygamous organization of society wherever the Semite has made his way. From the borders of Persia to the Mediterranean, and even beyond to the Pillars of Hercules, the impress of multiple marriage was upon the ancient peoples. The system traveled to the West, as we shall see, with the Hebrew race, flourished in Canaan, and infected Christianity in so much that as late as the time of the Reformation the leading evangelicals, including Luther and Melanchthon, justified it as Christian in both theory and practice!

Chaldæa the original seat of polygamous usages.

With the development of Babylonian society the formalities attending marriage, or wife-taking, were enlarged, and took to themselves religious and civil sanction. Spectacle and pageant were added until the ceremony, in the case of noble families at least, became as gorgeous as the other forms of Oriental society. The bride that was to be was adorned for the occasion of her nuptials, and was led forth to meet her lord with music and dancing and jubilee.

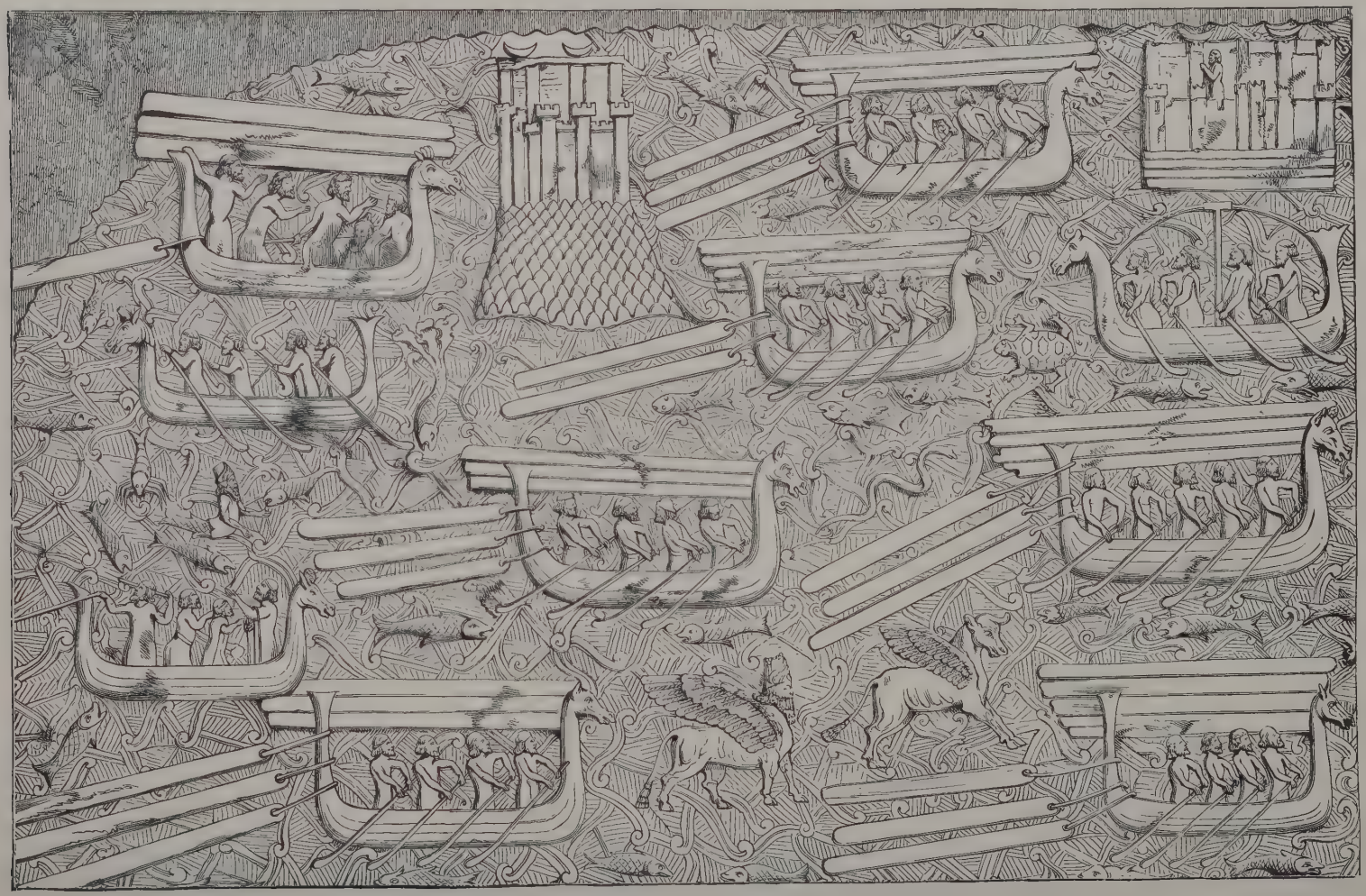
Marriage customs; woman brought to subjection.

The system tended to mysticism. Woman more and more was hidden away, and the mastery of the man over all domestic relations became emphasized until the subordination of his wives amounted to a virtual slavery, which was redeemed only by the pencilings and warmth of natural affection. This, under all conditions, may be presumed to have alleviated the subjection of the weaker and more sensitive sex to the tyranny and exultation of the stronger.

Passing further into the elements of the civilized life we note the origin among the Chaldees of that peculiar style of writing called *Cuneiform*, from the resemblance in shape of its characters to the wedge. This style of writing was destined to take up and convey to modern learning much of the best knowledge of antiquity. It was destined, moreover, to extend as a system of written expression, not only to the kindred races of Asshur on the north, but also to the Aryan races of Media and Persia, also to the highlands of Armenia, and far into Syria. In another part of the author's works he has exemplified with sufficient fullness the nature and philosophy of cuneiform writing.[1] In the present connection it remains to note the fact that this writing was, according to our best information, invented by the Chaldees. More properly, it was perfected by them;

The Chaldees invent the cuneiform system of writing.

[1] See Ridpath's *Cyclopædia of Universal History*, Vol. I, pp. 130–131, 197–198.



ARAMAIC SCULPTURES.—Bas-relief from Palace of Sardanapalus.

for antiquarian research has shown that the rudiments of the system already existed among the aboriginal tribes of Accad, who possessed, or at least traversed, the Babylonian plain before the development of Chaldee nationality. It is thought that these Accadians were out of the hill-country of Elam, and that they brought with them a rude, idiographic writing which was adopted and amended by the race of Arphaxad on its entrance into Lower Mesopotamia.

Process by which the system was developed.

At the first the writing in question was a picture writing, in which objects were portrayed by actual resemblance or symbolically. In the hands of the Chaldees the characters began to take more and more of the symbolical and less of the idiographic nature, and at the same time to be modified into simpler and still simpler forms. At length the characters were reduced into that shape in which we find them on the tablets and cylinders of Babylonia and Assyria. Meanwhile, as early as the seventeenth century B. C., the Semitic tongue had taken the place of the original Accadian language in Chaldæa, and the former was forced into the framework, so to speak, of the Accadian symbols. It was a case very similar to that now presented in the writing of the Japanese, which is mostly effected in the Chinese character. English itself is written in the Roman character, as Hebrew before it was written in Chaldee symbols.

Evolution of writing from pictures to alphabet.

In the hands of the Chaldees the cuneiform characters were transmuted gradually into phonetics. The first stage of the transmutation was that in which the symbol stood for an object of the outer world, as, for instance, a house, an ox, a boat, a fishing tackle, etc. The next step was to make the character in a simpler form, and to allow it to stand for the *names* of the objects referred to. The next stage makes the characters to stand for the *initial sounds* in the names of the objects, and the final stage dismisses the objects and the names, retaining only the *phonetic sound* as the thing for which the symbol stands. In other words, the cuneiform writing, like all other systems with which we are acquainted, passed by evolution and culture from picture writing, by way of a syllabary, into an alphabet. When the latter stage was reached the Chaldee scribe was able to engrave with his stylus on the clay of his bricks, still unburnt, the phonetic writing in which his thoughts were composed. The development went on until proficiency was attained. The Assyrians borrowed the system from their neighbors, and added papyrus and stone as the materials on which their records were made. By and by literary culture came, and the perfected alphabet, in which many traces of idiography and symbolism still existed, was taken as the vehicle of all branches of learning known to the times.

Intellectual life diffused by the Chaldees.

By this means knowledge was enlarged and transmitted in an expanding volume from the early centers of the Chaldee race. Intellectual activity appeared both as a cause and a consequence of the art of writing. Certainly it may not be denied that great minds belonged to the Chaldees at a time when nearly all the rest of the world lay in Cimmerian darkness. We may well admire the intellectual achievements of a people who studied nature successfully a thousand years before the founding of Rome! Several of the most important branches of science had their origin in this far age and country; and many of the practical contrivances which civilization has employed for at least three

millennia were invented by the Chaldee philosophers.

The writings of this ancient race of the Shemite were mostly concerned with historical narrative. This indicates clearly that the stage of national consciousness had come, and with it the wholesome ambition to be remembered and admired by posterity. The ambition, however, was still largely personal. The inscriptions indicate the predominance of certain men and certain classes. At this we should not be surprised or offended, particularly when we remember that to the present day history, as an art, has been mostly concerned to eulogize the individual actors, and to neglect the progress of the drama as a whole.

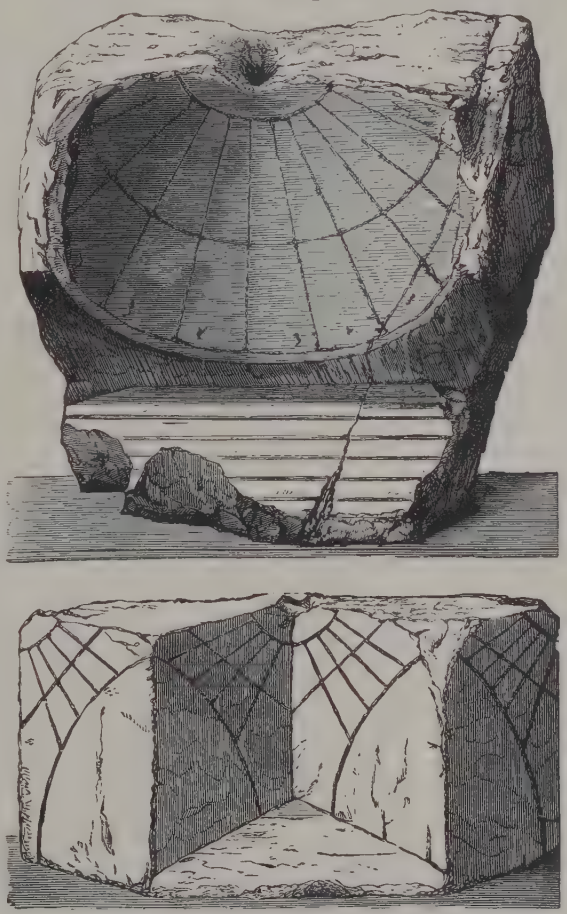
Style and subject matter of the Chaldee writings.

The Chaldee writings celebrate the praises of kings and the glory of the gods. But over and above the personal eulogium we discover evidences of the high intellectual life which the people had attained. The record includes also the rudimentary outlines of science and the results of investigation. From this source we acquaint ourselves with those tables of weights and measures which in some sense furnish the basis of nearly all subsequent contrivances of like kind. Not a few civilized nations of to-day have hardly improved upon the methods employed by the Chaldees for the computation of time and space, for the measurement of mass and distance. Such was the ability of this primitive stock that its intellect and achievement stretch out to the life of the present epoch.

The inscriptions show the high attainments of the race.

The example here before us shows in a memorable manner the permanence as well as the triumph of intellectual achievement. It is the physical parts of civilization that go down to dust. Violence perishes in the wind of its own commotion. Conquest ends with the fall of the curtain upon its tragedy. All monuments and memorials which appeal merely to the senses are attacked and destroyed by time. The material panorama is indebted for its brief memory and tradition to the upholding record of thought. But the mind of the race, as

Enduring character of intellectual achievement.



COMPUTATION OF TIME—ANCIENT SUNDIALS.

well as the mind of the individual, when once it has risen to ascendency, perishes not, but rather survives with the successive ages to which it transmits itself in story or song, in epic or art.

We should look in vain in the ancient world for the fact of self-government. In an age when the rank senses of the human race ran riot over reason, we might not reasonably expect that men would be able to organize themselves into civil government on the principles of a rational republican democracy. Even in modern times and the most enlightened countries we have seen with what great difficulty the race has risen to selfhood in economics and government and law.

Absence of true civil government among the ancients.

Antiquity must needs accept personal rule. Civil and religious institutions in that far age were evolved coïncidentally. The powerful effect of religious beliefs worked by reaction on the formative institutions of government. The gods ruled. Men must be like the gods. Therefore civil government, if it exist, must exist in the similitude of god-rule. God-rule is monarchy. The priest receives his authority from one above himself, great and glorious in the skies. There must be, saith antiquity, a man lifted up in the likeness of the god. From him must descend all authority—by him must be exercised all rule. The thought of the issuance and rise from the people of the right to govern, and of the delegation of that right to the ruler, is a concept so modern that it has hardly yet found acceptance in any nation of the earth.

Primitive civil institutions influenced by religion.

The great cities of Chaldæa—Babel and Erech and Accad and Ur and Nipur and Borsippa and Sippara and Kutha—becoming populous, demanded civil institutions, and these came in their kind. The various communities were bound together in a geat despotism, at the head of which rose the Oriental emperor, warrior, king, and high priest of the nation. Before him primitive society fell down and worshiped. He was the incarnation of god-power and man-power, the head and fountain of all prerogative and greatness. He commanded the Chaldee, afterwards the Babylonian, armies. His throne was established on force and superstition. But, nevertheless, the civil unity of society was attained, and for many centuries monarch succeeded monarch by right of birth or conquest.

Place of Oriental emperor in ancient society.

The reader may easily perceive that the Oriental monarchy of antiquity was the full form of that germ which existed in the patriarch of the clan. The patriarch was emperor of his household and tribe. Enlarge the latter and change the pastoral into the sedentary and commercial life and you have the ancient monarch, crowned and robed in the splendor of the East. Very little was he concerned with the other attributes which we find existent in a modern state. If he formed a council of his nobles and priests, it was done at his will for the convenience of his government and the enlargement of his renown and glory. He set governors in provinces, and captains over the divisions of his army; but none might say to him, "What doest thou?" Only one check really held him back from the absolute supremacy of his will. That was the fear of a violent death at the hands of some one who had suffered or was jealous under his rule.

The old monarchy an exaggerated form of patriarchy.

In this form rose the government of that ancient race who possessed and civilized the lowlands lying northward from the Persian gulf. The names of the

CHALDEE NOBLES RECEIVING DUTY.—Drawn by Tofani, after a sketch of Madame Dieulafoy from a bas-relief.

early Chaldæan kings have been transmitted to posterity. An outline of their dynasties has been recovered from the dust. As in all ages, the rulers of this ancient epoch have commemorated themselves, while the names of the great thinkers and scientists, who from the cities and plains of Chaldæa foreran the knowledge of the world, have passed into the oblivion of the ages. On the other hand, the *work* of the thinkers and sages has transmitted itself to the mind and purpose of after times; while the work of warrior kings and high priests has gone down to the silence of the under world.

Rulers celebrate themselves, but history celebrates thought.

The Chaldees were not lawmakers. None of the Semites have excelled as legislators. Many of the great men of this family have surpassed in formulating theocratic codes, but lawmaking in the human sense remained for the genius of another race. The laws of the Chaldees and of their successors, the Babylonians, were simply edicts of the kings. They had the sanction only of force and expediency. Rational legislation was a task above and beyond the civil capacity of the ancient peoples. In addition to the edicts of sovereigns and high priests there was, no doubt, among the Chaldees the growth of custom and usage to the extent of furnishing the ordinary rules of conduct; but lawmaking in the truer sense was an art unknown to that great people who first mapped the heavens and discovered the sequence of phenomena among the planetary and stellar worlds.

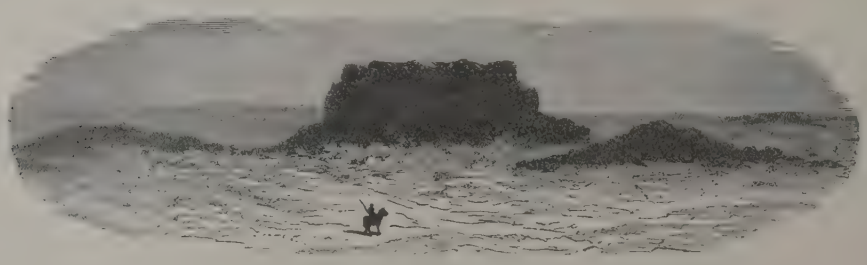
Incompetency of the Semites in matter of legislation.

The author has already explained in another section of his works[1] the religious system which grew up and flourished in Lower Mesopotamia. This system was destined to run a marvelous course among the nations. Though at the first it was but feebly discriminable from the mythologies of other peoples, it seemed to contain the germ of a growth which was to combine in the secondary form with the prodigious energies of the Roman empire; to send its hardy vine into the darkness and chill of the Middle Ages; to issue from those ages with the claim of universality; and to contend for precedence and prescriptive right among the vast forces and phenomena of modern civilization.

Chaldee germ of a tremendous religious evolution.

It is not needed, however, in this connection to describe again the pantheon of the Chaldees, or to repeat the account of their religious ceremonial. If we mistake not, there was in the system from the first a tendency toward the severe unity of monotheism, and this perhaps must account for the long survival of the religious thought which had for its locus the banks of the Lower Euphrates, and for the source of its germination the breast of the Chaldee race.

[1] See Ridpath's *Cyclopædia of Universal History*, Vol. I, pp. 132–140.



BOOK XV.—THE HEBREWS.

CHAPTER CV.—EVOLUTION OF THE EBERITES.

WE have thus given a brief outline of the character and promise of the Aramæan, or northern, branch of the Semitic peoples. The middle branch is known by the name of *Hebraic*. The word at once suggests the well-known traditional, perhaps we should say historical, origin of the race. The Eberites, or Heberites, as the term signifies, came from beyond the river; that is, out of Aram, or Mesopotamia. The name of the head of this division of the Semites was Eber, or Heber. The Book of Genesis declares that the Shemite was "the father of all the children of Eber." Eber is made to be the grandson of Arphaxad. By this we are to understand that the Eberites were, according to the traditional knowledge of the age, the right-line descendants of the Arphaxad tribes. Eber is made to be the progenitor of the Pelegites and the Joktanians. From Peleg the sacred genealogy descends directly through four generations to Abraham, and to him the Hebrew race of history assigns its origin.

The Eberite and his descendants.

Time and again we have had occasion to note the significance of these ancestral names. The Semitic traditions everywhere abound with lists in which the descent of living families is traceable upward to some remote and famous fountain. In all this there is doubtless a glimpse here and there of *personal* ancestry, but the larger part of the nomenclature is *tribal*. The meaning of such records is that certain tribes were, according to their tradition, descended from other tribes, of which the patronymic has been preserved. And in this sense the ancestral genealogies of the Hebrews must be understood.

Significance of the Hebraic nomenclature.

This being true, we note in the first place the origin of the Hebraic race in an Aramaic descent. This would signify that the Aramæans were the oldest division of the Semites, and the Hebraic

family the second development of the same stock. We shall see hereafter that the Arabs were the third and most recent evolution from the same ethnic original. The Eberites came over to has extended. The patriarch Abraham, at the head of a colony of his people, made his way far to the west, and settled in Canaan. The story of the battles and like vicissitudes through which

Relation of the Hebrews to the Aramæans.

Migration of the Abrahamites out of Chaldæa.

LAND OF THE HEBREWS.—VALLEY OF THE JORDAN.

the right bank of the Euphrates, and established themselves at Ur of the Chaldees. It was from that position that the true migration and beginnings of historical development were to take their rise.

The story of the movement by which Hebrew nationality was to be ultimately achieved is known wherever Christianity the immigrants passed before they were able to occupy and possess the country of their choice need not be repeated. What we are here to consider is the destiny of the race in another and higher sense.

At the very beginning we find the Abrahamites at Shechem, where they build an altar to Jehovah-El. Afterward the tents of the tribe are pitched

under the oaks at Kirjath-Arba, where another altar is raised. Then we have the epic of the Egyptian Hagar, who bore to her lord a son who was to be "like a wild ass, and his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him, and he should dwell to the east of his brethren." Meanwhile the tribe of Lot takes possession of the low valley of

Abrahamites in Canaan during Egyptian captivity.

tional proportions, becomes resident as an enslaved people in the valley of the Lower Nile. This deflection of the Hebrew family from its first settlement in Canaan did not divide the race by any great measure of geographical or ethnic divergence. We are not to suppose that the Hebrew stock was extinguished in

CLAN OF ABRAHAMITES DEPARTING.

the Jordan. Already the men of Canaan are in rebellion against the immigrant race, and there is a long struggle of the latter with the former, until the Hebrew predominates and the Canaanites are reduced to subjection.

Few of these vicissitudes need here be recounted. The same is true of the long Egyptian episode, in which the tribe of Jacob, multiplied almost to na-

Canaan during the time of the principal growth of the enslaved people in Egypt. The Canaanites, however, regained their ascendency in the region which had been occupied by the tribes out of the East, in so much that by the close of the Egyptian period the traces of pure Hebraism were hardly any longer discoverable in Canaan. The primitive races of that country had grown strong and warlike.

They had progressed also toward the civilized life. Their towns and cities were of considerable importance, and when returning Israel, coming in on a detour from the south and east, at length crossed the Jordan, they had to encounter the Canaanitish armies, and contend by battle and siege for several generations before they succeeded in regaining possession of the Promised Land.

EGYPTIAN EPISODE OF ISRAEL.—Pyramid Building.

Meanwhile, we may notice by a cursory view of the Hebrews in Egypt one of the marked peculiarities of the race. This is its fertility. The extent to which Israel was multiplied in the Nile valley is, if we accept the tradition, quite incredible. From a clan of fewer than a hundred persons the increase went on until, at the expiration of about two and a half centuries, the Hebrews had multiplied to several millions! If we accept the figures which the Hebrew scribes have authenticated, we shall conclude that the Israelites in Egypt were fully as numerous as the dominant race —at least that part of the race in possession of the Lower Nile valley.

Remarkable expansion of the Hebrew race in Egypt.

The mass of Israel, whether going forth by its own volition or expelled by the compulsion of Egypt and her arms, was prodigious as it rolled off in the direction of the Syrian deserts. The Egyptian record, as well as that of the Hebrews, shows that the expelled people were powerful in numbers, and yet some allowance must be made for the exaggerations which were common in all the current accounts of antiquity. Doubtless Israel was greatly wasted by

Vicissitudes of the return into the Promised Land.

wars and defections during the full generation of travel and vexatious migration across the desert. Coming again in a circuit to the eastern borders of Canaan, the race was still strong, and had gained in discipline and prowess more than it had lost in numbers. Joshua, the generalissimo of that new Israel born in Syria, was able to make his way not only into Eastern Canaan, but across the Jordan, and to gain an

VIEW IN CANAAN.—Looking West from Ascalon.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

immovable footing in battle with the strong tribes of Western Canaan.

Another peculiarity of the Hebrew stock which we may already discover, even from the date of the Egyptian bondage, was its strange persistency of purpose. Few other races have so inveterately hung to their own wills and objects of desire; few have pursued the end with such persistent and unvarying obstinacy as did the Hebrews, even in the earlier ages of their ethnic evolution. If we combine this quality with what

Ethnic persistency of the Hebrews.

appears to have been the natural fecundity of the race, we may discover at least two of the elements which have carried the Hebraic peoples in ethnic streams from the far-off fountain into the foreground of modern civilization.

Still another element of the peculiar strength of this family of mankind we may discover in the discipline to which the ancestors of the race were subjected by the hard incidents of its early history. Making all allowance for the exaggeration of the old scribes of Israel in delineating the trials of their people, and for the hyperbole which all the ancients indulged in depicting the heroic toils of their ancestors, we may still note in the primitive history of this people the buffetings of unusual adversity, and we had almost said the precursive omens of those dreadful persecutions by which the race seems to have been hounded for the greater part of more than three thousand years! Such discipline, though

How discipline brings strength and race endurance.

it bear hard on the current generation—though it grind down and destroy the weaker fraction of the people—must needs result in the production of a stock capable of surviving even when brayed in the mortar and ground by the pestle of that cold and often cruel thing which goes by the name of history.

Not in this connection, however, shall we discuss in extenso the personal and ethnic characteristics of the Hebrews. In Canaan we see them at length victorious over the native races. Let us not forget that those races were of a common kinship with the Abrahamic branch, older, indeed, than the Abrahamites, but perhaps not equally aggressive and powerful as an ethnic stock. If tradition is to be trusted, the Canaanites were virtually exterminated. The conquests of Joshua and his successors were sufficiently bloody and dreadful. Havoc, devastation, and the utter annihilation of the enemy were the spirit and substance of the successive wars by which the native races of the Promised Land were ultimately extinguished.

Relations of the Hebrews to the conquered Canaanites.

Meanwhile that Israelitish theocracy, which was destined to exert so powerful an influence upon all the peoples and institutions of the West, was established and perfected. For a considerable period it met the demands of both religious and secular government. The two were one. Jehovah-Elohim was the king. His priests were the ministers alike of Church and state. A certain measure of nationality was attained under the theocracy, ill-adapted as it must have been to the exigencies of civil and foreign affairs. Doubtless it was the insufficiency of such a government to cope with questions of national and international moment that led to the policy of seclusion adopted by the Hebrew state, and preserved in the traditions and manners of the people of Israel to the present day. A rim of bristling localism and selfhood was drawn around the Hebrew commonwealth, and everything beyond that exclusive periphery was avoided and ignored—this as a principle of statecraft and an article of religion.

Establishment of theocratical government for the Israelites.

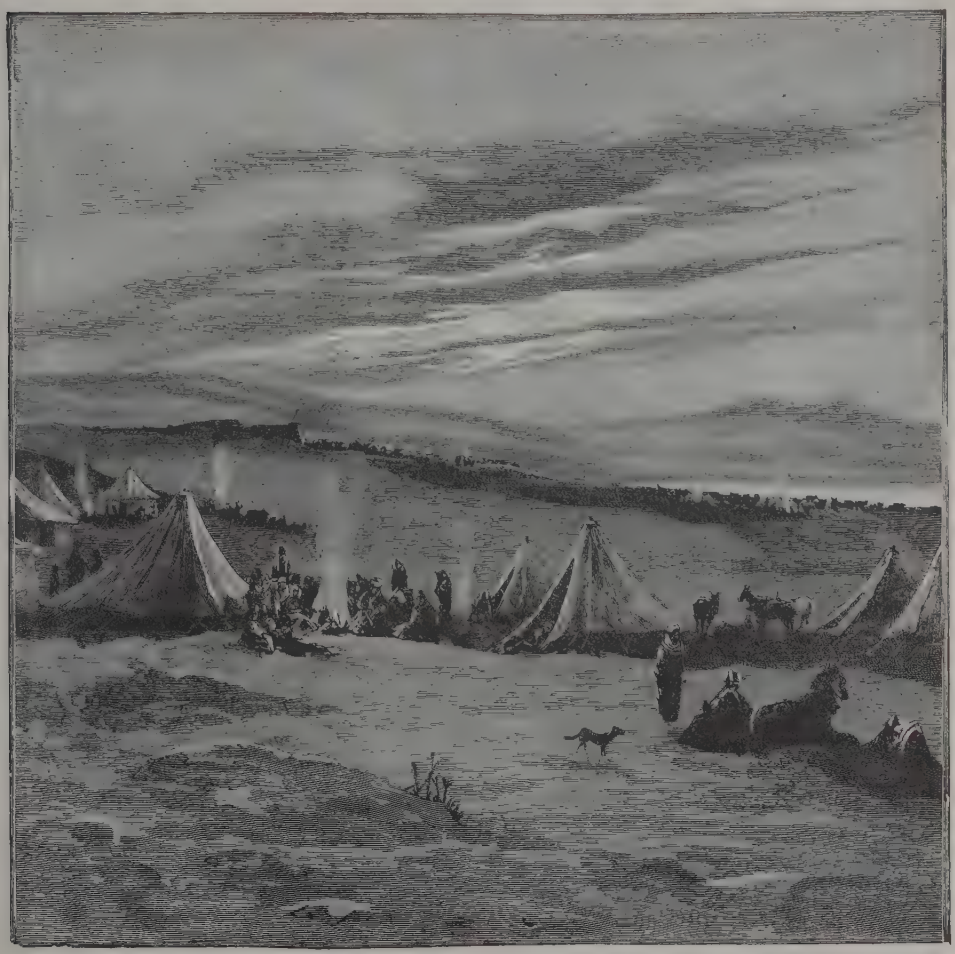
The student of history knows well how the Hebrew theocracy at length yielded to the exigency of the times and gave place to the monarchical institution. A king was found and raised to the seat of secular authority. Henceforth the state was double. The theocratic organization was maintained, and the system of civil government organized in dual relation beside it. As a rule the two were harmonious. The high priest and the king were only at rare conjunctures at enmity or cross-purposes. The priest supported the king in his Oriental exaltation, and the latter bowed submissively to the divine authority of the former. The national movement had in it the sanction of force and the inspiration of religious zeal. The Jewish wars were made in this double spirit. Sometimes the policy of the state, under the ill-advised counsel of the high priest, brought disaster to the nation; but such results were often counterbalanced by victories and successes which had for their mainspring the religious enthusiasm of the people.

The theocracy yields to the monarchical necessity.

It is not intended here to recount the vicissitudes of the kingdom of Israel or to usurp the office of civil history by explaining the causes of either the greatness or the decay of Hebrew nationality. The kingdom flourished for a period, and then was dismembered, under the

Political and social decline of the Hebrew people.

combined influences of social degeneration and political rebellion. Prophecy and the prophetical office were not able to shore up the tottering commonwealth against the corroding vices of the people and the successful assaults of foreign armies. We note a long period of national decline, until finally the kingdom of David and Solomon appears as the Roman province of Judæa, constantly rebellious against the imperial authority until, in the days of Josephus, the Jewish state was extinguished and the remnant of the people scattered among the Gentiles. All this has been told and retold in hundreds of narratives and in all literary languages. It is our office rather to give an account of the race as such and to indicate the character of the ethnic traits, social life, industries, language, and religious institutions of the people under consideration.



PASTORAL LIFE IN PALESTINE.—The Camp by Night.—Drawn by H. A. Harper, from a sketch.

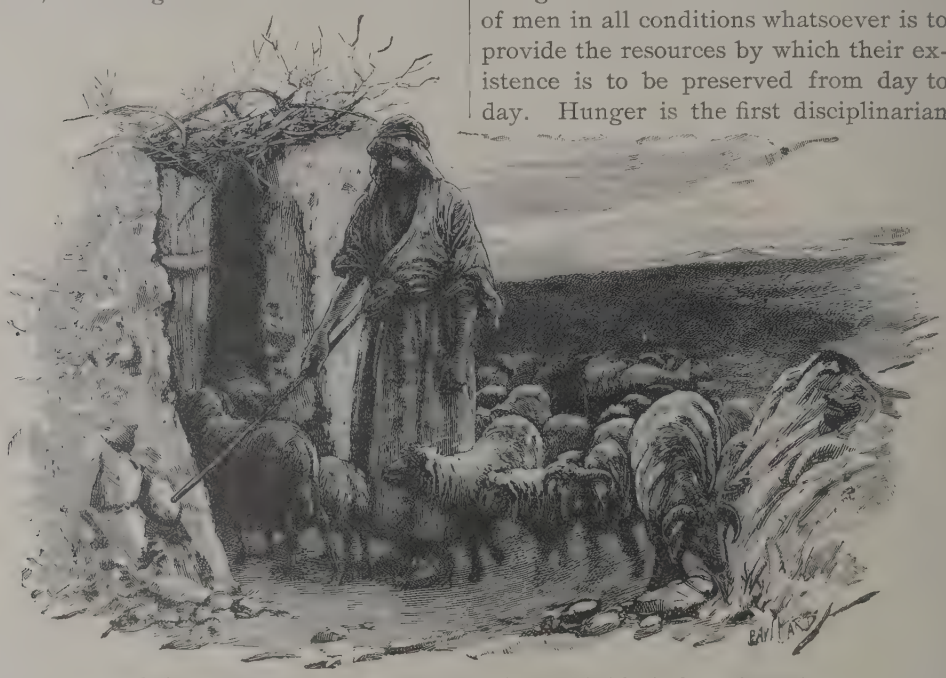
The Hebrews were at the first a pastoral people. Perhaps the race presents this type of life in its most perfect form. The accounts which have been trans-

mitted to us by tradition and history of the primitive state of the Hebrew fathers give us idyl after idyl, composed in many instances with poetic skill, of the manner of life of the progenitors of Israel in the patriarchical age. There they are upon the open plain with their flocks and herds. There are their tents, pitched now in this place and now in that, according to the abundance of nature or the exigency of the season. The clan abides together. Anon it divides into several clans. The outdoor life is prevalent. The indoor life is almost unknown. The absence of civilizing institutions is compensated by longevity, freedom, and happiness. Doubtless it was, on the whole, an estate of plenty. The tradition of that far age has nothing to say of disease, and nothing of want, except in the rare instance of famine. So long as the earth did her part, the resources of clan life were easily and abundantly obtained.

Prevalence of the pastoral life in Canaan.

We are here face to face with the first question of importance in considering the ethnic life of the people, and that is, the food supply by which the given people is supported. The sustenance of life is the first of all considerations. "All that a man hath will he give in exchange for his life." The first concern of men in all conditions whatsoever is to provide the resources by which their existence is to be preserved from day to day. Hunger is the first disciplinarian of the world—the first teacher of mankind—a hard master, but not without generosity and benevolent instincts for the human race.

Sources of food supply; flocks and herds of the Hebrews.



FLOCKS AND HERDS.—Counting the Sheep.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

In common with their kindred races the Hebrews had their first dependence upon their flocks and herds. The latter abounded. We must remember that the Syrian plains were then a new country. Vast is the difference between the new country and the old—between the exuberance, the grassy wealth, the wild-

fruit extravagance of the one, and the exhausted sterility of the other.

Increasing abundance of the Abrahamite clans.

Mark the progress of the Abrahamites westward from the fatherland of the Chaldees to their new home in Canaan. Very deliberate was their progress. Here a camp and there a camp. If these lands be cropped of their pasturage, yonder plain invites both us and his household divides both flock and clan and takes his journey yonderward. The tribes multiply and expand into a considerable volume. Sometimes there are quarrels and fighting. Injustice and the lust of property stand against justice and the rightfulness of ownership. There is the *mêlee* of rude arms—victory for the one, defeat and subjection of the other.

VINEYARDS OF ISRAEL.—Treading the Grapes.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

our retinue of flocks. Thither will we go. The water brooks are there—possibly the palm trees by their banks of green. Day by day and week by week select animals are chosen from the herds and slain for the food of the tribe. The native instincts of the goats and sheep and cattle produce more rapidly than the daily want is able to exhaust. The herds become great, and are divided. This nephew takes one division and goes off thither. That brother-in-law with

Naturalness of the notion of sacrificing animals.

Perhaps there was never a condition of human life more abundantly supplied with healthful food-meats than that which we here contemplate among the ancestors of the Hebrews. Observe the sentiments of affectionate regard with which the patriarch must consider his animals about to be slain. The necessity of killing is strong upon him; but the repugnance to the act, let us believe, is universally human. Might we not sat-

isfy the inconsistency, the contradiction, the compunction of our conscience if the priest would lay his hand upon the victim's head and let us slay under the sanction of Jehovah?

Trade begins from flock and herd; pastoral life declines.

From this source of animal slaughter the primitive Hebrews—as did all the cognate peoples of the race—derived their principal means of support. The abundance of the herds and flocks gave the first suggestion of commerce. Trade in living animals sprang up, we might almost say flourished, in the age when the Hebrews were still migratory tribes coming out of the East, or removing from place to place in the land which they had chosen for their inheritance. Only with the establishment of the sedentary life did the pastoral life begin to decline. The conquest and division of the country put metes and bounds not only to the further development of the career of the shepherd and herdsmen, but brought in the certain condition of his decline and extinction. For a while the two methods of life remained coïncident, and the resources of the people were drawn with equal hand from the flock and the field.

Vineyards and wine the joy of the Hebrews.

From the first the draught upon nature was considerable. Bread-making was known to the Chaldees. Fruits and vegetables and grains were not only gathered wild from nature, but brought into a tolerably perfect cultivation in the valley of the Lower Euphrates long before the removal of the descendants of Terah into Syria. It were hard to say at how early a period in the life of the human race the vineyard began to flourish. Grapes were gathered and eaten with wild joy by the first men of the earth! No other product of the soil and sunshine has been more universally cultivated in all places at all favorable to its growth than has the vine. The Hebraic peoples were specially devoted to the vineyard and its care. References to the grape and the juice of the grape, to the making of wine and the joy of the drinking cups, abound in the earliest lyrics of the race. It were hard to say how much of this idyl of the vine belonged to the poetry of the age of Hebrew literature, and was projected from that epoch backward to the times of the patriarchical estate; but the vine was no doubt intertwined traditionally with the history of the peoples from the times of their migration out of the East.

Hebrew manner of life tended to longevity.

From the sources just indicated the Hebrews drew the means of subsistence and the commodities of trade. It was a life of nature. It were difficult to conceive of a condition more favorable to health and longevity. The tradition of the long lives of the Hebrew fathers may well be accepted as consistent with the facts, though the "years" in which their lives were numbered were apocryphal. Nor may we dismiss the patriarch of his clan, with his flocks and herds and freedom and abundance, without a sigh of regret for that necessity of civilization which substitutes for him and his simple methods of existence the complex, multifarious, ambitious life of mart and town and city. The Hebrew has left his flock to become the trader-in-chief of the world.

CHAPTER CVI.—SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS.

BY the time of the institution of the Hebrew theocracy the primitive pastoral life gave away before the aggressions and demands of the sedentary system. The conflict between the two types of existence may be both seen and illustrated in the action of the two and a half tribes beyond the river. The remainder made the exchange, not we may believe without regret, but rather under the compulsion of military and religious authority. The philosophical reader may discover in the indifference manifested by the Hebrews about going over Jordan and possessing the land the reluctance which they felt to abandon the pastoral freedom enjoyed by their fathers.

VALE OF SOREK.—Drawn by H. A. Harper, from a photograph.

of Israel who chose to remain in the open grazing countries beyond the Jordan. Not even the temptation of entering into the Promised Land could induce them to give up the method of life to which they had been so long accustomed, and to accept in its stead the restricted life of the hamlet and vineyard

Hebrews relinquish the wandering life reluctantly.

It were needless to enumerate again the products of Palestine. The country is represented at the time of Hebrew nationality as exuberant in the production of fruits and flowers. Perhaps a part of the poetical descriptions which the bards of Israel were wont to draw of the beauty and abundance of their land

Poetical description of Palestine; its beauty and abundance.

should be explained by the contrast which even a moderately fertile country must present to the Syrian desert. This contrast had been strongly impressed on the recollections of the people in the times of the exodus. We may remember also the strong antithesis in which Hebrew poetry abounded, and which in-

CHURNING WITH GOATSKIN BOTTLE.
Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

deed constituted its principal element of beauty.

But, after all, Palestine must be allowed to have been a fruitful and beautiful region at the epoch of the ascendency of the Hebrew race. The hills and mountains were covered with cedars. At lower elevations the cypress grew. In the valleys the fruit-bearing trees abounded. Among these the olive held the first place. The date-palm flourished in the more favorable situations. More than all did the vine proclaim the fertility of the soil. Israel was emphatically a grape-growing, wine-producing people. Vegetables were abundantly grown with little trouble of cultivation. We may not know the particular character of the root crops which constituted a considerable part of the food of man and beast. These were essentially the same as those of Mesopotamia. Cereals abounded. Wheat and barley and rye have immemorially flourished in the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. The same may be said of all varieties of pulse.

After the settlement of the Twelve Tribes in Canaan and the division of the lands among the people, the exclusive dependence upon flocks and herds for the means of subsistence ceased. Indeed, the dependence was henceforth mostly on the products of the earth. The country was limited in extent. Only a few acres could be assigned to any family. The shepherd life under such conditions must end. The Israelites continued, even in their narrow estates, to possess a certain number of sheep and goats and cattle. Horses were known only by tradition of other countries. The domestic donkey was seen about most of the homes of Israel. Butter and cheese continued to be, as they had been in the patriarchical estate, among the principal articles of food. Enough was retained of the abundant flocks and herds possessed by the pastoral fathers to furnish

Means and resources of the Israelites in Palestine.

the meat supply of the people. To this was added a considerable fraction from domestic fowls and wild birds, which were abundant, particularly about the northern lakes. On the whole, the Israelites were good producers and good eaters. While nature continued in her usual course, there was rarely any scarcity among the people. Only in times of occasional drought was want known or the cry of famine heard in the land.

APPORTIONING THE LANDS.

In this connection it may be well to refer to the peculiar anomaly of Hebrew landownership. The system adopted at the institution of the government by Joshua and his successors has, we think, never been tried by any other people. It was a compromise between fee simple and community of ownership. It was enacted that the lands of Israel should be surveyed, divided, and apportioned, first to the tribes, afterwards to families, and finally to individuals. This assignment, however, was not final. The system provided for its own termination at the close of each period of fifty years. The whole land schedule was at the expiration of that period to be reärranged. A new survey was to be made at each jubilee, and a new distribution made of the holdings. Landownership thus became, as it were, a fifty-year lease from the government. Or, if the name "government" be too formal and large to express the civil condition at that time present among the Hebraic tribes, let us say that the lease was given by the people to the possessor.

Anomaly of Hebrew system of landownership.

The holder of lands under this system had the rights of ownership but not the right of alienation. That the state forbade. The Hebrew resident was not obliged to remain on his own premises,

but he could not sell his landed property. The value of the lease at any time was, of course, proportionate to the length of time yet to elapse before the next recurring jubilee. Just after a jubilee, the estates were worth almost as much as if they had been held in fee simple. At the beginning of the last year before a jubilee each estate was worth to the holder no more than a single year's rental.

Rights of possession; varying value of the lands.

The lands of the Israelites were thus regarded as belonging to the state. The possession of the soil was conceded to the people as a right and without expense. It does not appear that any speculative or fraudulent methods of depriving the people of their small holdings was ever discovered; nor is it likely that the stern theocracy or the kings who succeeded to that government would have at all tolerated any departure from the letter and spirit of the peculiar arrangement by which the lands were apportioned to the people.

Several results must have certainly been consequential upon this system of fifty-year lease of the lands. In the first place, the sentiment of landownership would be different from that of them who hold lands in fee simple. The Hebrew must regard himself as the *possessor* rather than the *owner* of his estate. He must look upon it very differently from the estimate which he placed upon his personal property. The latter would be his own, to employ or consume or alienate or even destroy at his will; but his small acreage belonged ultimately to the state. In the course of a lifetime, or probably less, it would revert to general society and be assigned to some

Peculiar results of land system; state ownership.

PROCLAIMING THE JUBILEE.

other occupant. Perhaps a tie was thus established between the possessor of the land and the whole people, or state, quite different from the feudal bond by which a landowner is attached to his realty in a country where fee simple is recognized.

A second circumstance would be the effect of such a system upon the land itself. In modern society the suspicion would arise, in advance, of the gross abuse of landed property held under an expiring lease. We have no hint in the history of the Hebrew state, however, that any such abuse existed. On the other hand, we may readily perceive the advantage to the soil of the exchange of owners. The incoming possessor would adopt a different style of cultivation and a different allotment of his small acres to certain products.

Effects of the system on the land itself.

If we mistake not, the land would thus have a sense of rest and recreation. We know that this consideration was not wanting among the Hebrews who carefully provided that the seventh year, more particularly the forty-ninth year, should be an interval of absolute rest for the lands. The Sabbatarian principle was carried down not only from man to beast, but from the animal creation to inanimate nature and the very soil of the ground. *That* also should rest and revive for a season.

HILLSIDE TERRACES AND PASS OF AIN HARAMIYEH.
Drawn by H. A. Harper, from a photograph.

A third consideration is that of the permanent improvement of landed properties under such a system. Doubtless there would be less fixed increment to such estates than there would be in the case of holdings under fee simple. The possessor of a lease, being human, might well ask himself for what purpose he should build stone walls and dwellings, and construct bridges and wells on a property which must soon pass into the hands of another without recompense to himself. The same sentiment might extend even to the planting of orchards and vineyards.

Question of permanent improvement of lands so held.

It is probable that this motive prevailed to a certain extent with the Hebrews in the matter of improving real property; but it is also true that the higher motive of improving lands *for the general good*, as well as for the benefit of the individual possessor, operated to the advantage of all. As to building, that was not carried to any great degree of expensiveness in the rural districts of Palestine. The peoples of the East had little pride in the construction of large and costly houses for homes—this independently of the consideration whether the lands did or did not belong to those who occupied them. All the great building of the East was done for public purposes—for the creation of magnificent palaces for kings or temples for the gods and priests. To a certain extent fine building was practiced by nobles and princes; but the houses of the populace were small and low—of little style and insignificant cost.

General indifference to private building in the East.

ANCIENT OLIVE GROVE NEAR GAZA.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

Whatever may have been the effect of the jubilee lease system of landowning, the country was well cultivated and fairly well improved. Even the unfertile parts were reclaimed, and soil was produced where nature had given none. The hillsides in the populous districts were terraced so as to hold all that was gained by cultivation. Agriculture and horticulture were practiced to as much perfection as we might expect in an unscientific age. The character of fruit-

The country highly developed under social ownership.

bearing trees was well understood, and the means diligently supplied for the best production. The art of pruning trees and training vines was practiced with great skill; tradition has preserved such an account of fruitfulness in orchard and field and vineyard as might well excite the admiration and envy of modern gardeners.

Thus in course of time Israel became an agricultural instead of a pastoral people. It is in the former stage of development that history becomes clearly acquainted with the Hebrews. The pastoral life had vanished, and Canaan is discovered as a country of small farms with olive orchards, vineyards, and hamlets. The latter grew into villages, and these into towns. The capital of the state was the only aggregation of the people worthy to be called a city. The state was strictly secluded, and commerce was no more than the domestic trade of one community with another.

Substitution of the agricultural life; Hebrew towns.

Israel was a provident state. The Hebrews appear always to have had a strong forecast of the dangers of want and of the means to provide against it. At a very early age public granaries and storehouses were established as a provision against the contingency of unfruitful seasons. There was always a large public and private supply of grains and provisions held from year to year. This was done partly to provide against the danger of war and partly, as we have said, against the possibility of drought and famine. The state of Israel was generally provided, for at least one or two years in advance, with the means of subsistence. The stubborn and independent spirit of the people was supported by a knowledge of such provision for the future, and that element of character which was destined to become a national trait was stimulated by the policy of storing up and providing.

General providence of the Hebrew race.

COMING OF THE CARAVAN.—Drawn by H. A. Harper, from a photograph.

It is an odd circumstance in the history of mankind that the least commercial among the peoples of ancient times should become the most commercial of the races of mankind! Among the Hebrews, after the establishment of the theocracy, the merchant life was disesteemed and discouraged. To this

Disesteem of commercial life; policy of nonintercourse.

subject we shall revert hereafter. For the present we refer to it only as bearing on the food supply of the people. Israel in all the early ages of her development was in no wise dependent on commerce for subsistence. She produced the means of her support and vital force wholly within her own borders. The highest policy of the state was that of total nonintercourse with the heathen nations — and all were heathen save Israel only. This principle of statecraft and religion kept out foreign products. At a later age the gates were opened and Jewry became a mart; but in the times of the Hebrew ascendency, at least to the age of David and Solomon, the people supported themselves wholly from their own resources, and almost scorned to eat or drink or wear or touch the products of other nations.

When the Hebrews became great among the states of the Eastern Mediterranean they also became commercial, and with this change in the manner of life they began to draw upon the products of other countries. Their food and drink was no longer gathered from within the borders of the Holy Land, but was brought from far by caravan or ship to the public marts, and thence distributed to the people. It is still a matter of dispute to what remote regions the commerce of Israel was extended in the days of Solomon; but as far as these relations reached the foreign nations contributed of their resources to the support of the Israelitish nation. The foreign contribution, however, had respect rather to articles of luxury, refinement, decoration, art, and the like, than to the necessary means of subsistence.

Progress of the people brought in foreign trade.

FIELDS OF BOAZ.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

Though there has been a general decline in the resources of fertility of mod-

ern Palestine, a fair notion of the ancient products may yet be gathered from a present examination of the country. The climate and soil have still the character assigned thereto in antiquity. There is a rainy season and a dry—the former falling in the latter part of autumn and the latter covering the remainder of the year. There is much variation in the temperature. Freezing is rare; but the traveler may in some winters find a foot of snow in the crooked streets of Jerusalem. The ancient terraces by which even the mountain slopes were redeemed from barrenness have disappeared, and the soils of such situations have been washed down into the valleys. There the orchards of olives and figs are still seen, and the vine has a large measure of its traditional fruitfulness.

Present character of Palestine; climate and aspects.

On the hills the stunted oaks are seen, rough and gnarled. All the better gardens have pomegranate trees. The prevailing growths are terebinth, oak, sycamore, mulberry, pine, pistachio, laurel, cypress, myrtle, almond, and walnut. Of fruits, the apple, the apricot, the pear, orange, and lemon are the principal. All these, with the possible exception of the pear and the orange, belonged to antiquity. In the fields wheat, barley, maize, and rye are produced on the uplands, and rice in the river bottoms, around the margins of lakes, and in the marshes. Peas and beans yield plentifully, and potatoes, tobacco, cotton, and the sugar cane have all been introduced.

Products and resources of modern Palestine.

Of flocks and herds, we find sheep, goats, and cattle all deteriorated from their traditional qualities. Camels, horses, and mules have been brought in by the Arabs in place of the ox and the universal donkey of the old historical epoch. Many edible birds and fowls, among which may be mentioned the woodcock, partridge, quail, goose, and duck, are seen in their chosen haunts, and upon these the modern inhabitants feed as did the Israelites of old.

The sexual relation of the Hebrews was of the prevailing polygamous type. The system of multiple marriage was limited only by the ability and caprice of the man. In the patriarchical age the fathers of the race kept a retinue of wives in their tents, gaining by the usage in the rapid multiplication of their respective clans, and losing by the inevitable social disturbances among the different branches of the family. The relations of the system to the laws and religious usages of the Hebrews have been much discussed. Certain it is that the statutes in the times of the theocracy permitted and legitimated polygamy. It has been urged that this provision and feature of the so-called Mosaic system was simply out of the necessity of the thing and not of preference on the part of the lawgivers. We should look in vain, however, in the laws themselves for the evidences of theocratic repugnance to multiple marriage. The social system of the Hebrews was based upon it, and in the age of the kings polygamy was carried to the most extravagant limit ever known among men. It is doubtless true that the largest polygamous establishment recorded in the annals of mankind was that of Solomon, in the Holy City! The usage at that time was common throughout the East, and the otherwise severe statutes of Israel prevailed not in this particular against the immemorial custom of the Semitic race.

Prevalence of polygamy; excesses of the usage.

The domestic estate of the Hebrews,

however, was redeemed by many traits of higher sentiment and truer virtue. The fact of marriage had a prominent place in the social formula of the people. Marriage was encouraged and expected in all. The youth on arriving at manhood must defer to the prevailing sentiment and choose some maiden of his tribe for his wife. The marriage formality was social rather than statutory or religious. Custom prescribed the ceremonies. Every marriage was an occasion of feasting and joy. The nuptials were celebrated for the most part at the home of the bride. There she was adorned for her husband. The bridal chamber was prepared. Bridesmaids were in attendance. The bridegroom from his own place came on, attended by his friends. As he approached the home of the bride, the latter came forth with her bridesmaids to meet him. The two processions joined. There was dancing and song, merrymaking, and after that feasting at the bride's house. On the morrow the wedded pair, perhaps accompanied by friends, went to their own place, and the new family was established.

Redeeming features of society; marriage ceremonials.

BRIDAL PROCESSION.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

In the later stages of Israelitish development the first marriage gained precedence over all other connections. This was true among the other Semitic peoples. At times the preëminence of the first marriage amounted almost to monogamy. It required only the touch of Rome to make it so. With the rise of that power the principle of single mar-

The Hebrews become monogamous under Rome.

riage was extended into the provincial governments. The license of antiquity, though not abolished, was constrained to take another form. Instead of the recognized multiple marriage, the single marriage only was permitted by Roman law, and all other attachments between the sexes were put under the ban, not, indeed, to the extinction of such relations and forms of union, but to their depression to the level of illegality.

Hebrew marriage customs in modern times.

Scattered as they are among all civilized nations, the Jews of modern times have adopted the marital codes of the respective countries in which they live, but have at the same time preserved the spirit and much of the form of the ancient Hebrew marriage. The Jewish wedding of the present age may be celebrated in the synagogue or in any other place by the rabbi or the civil officer. In most Catholic countries discriminations are made against the Jews, amounting to embarrassments in their domestic status, and often to cruel injustice and persecution.

Notwithstanding the polygamous usage of the Hebrew race, sexual purity has always been highly esteemed by people of this descent. The sentiment has been, of course, measured to a degree by the average morality of the given age. Since the substitution of monogamy for the ancient usage, the integrity of the Jewish marriage relation has been acknowledged and admired in every part of the world. The Jewish women in particular have preserved the reputation and honor of the scattered race. This fact in the sentiments, principles, and usages of the Jews has contributed much to the maintenance of the ethnic unity of the various peoples of this name, if, indeed, it has not been the principal fact upon which such unity depends.

Exaltation of the family and family ties.

It is just to concede to the Hebrews, both ancient and modern, the honor of a singularly exalted family. The Jewish household has ever had in it much to admire. The family tie is strong in the last degree. Fatherhood and motherhood have meant in this instance all that the words imply. The filial and

WOMAN CARRYING CHILD—TYPE AND COSTUME.
Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

paternal relations have been of a sort to bind together the members of the family with the strongest ties of both kinship and ethnic fidelity. It is easy to see how but for these principles of domestic life the Jewish peoples would, in a comparatively short time, melt away into the common volume of the human race. Given the practice of the out-marriage of the Israelites with the peoples among

whom they dwell, and two or three generations would leave them no longer discriminable in feature or thought or manner of life from the prevailing types around them. How much longer this singular ethnic separation—based, as it is, no more upon territorial independence, but wholly upon the prevalent sentiments of the Jews themselves—can be maintained it were vain to conjecture. Equally vain is it to try to discover what good purpose of progress, or the general betterment of mankind, is subserved by this long-continued isolation of the Hebrews and their self-seclusion from the rest of mankind.

CHAPTER CVII.—LANGUAGE.

THE course of the present treatise has now brought us to a situation from which we may, with profit, consider at some length the language, not only of the Hebrews proper—not only of the cognate peoples who are classified under the general name of Hebraic—but of the Semitic race in general. The tongues of the Semites have been the subject of a vast range of inquiry in both ancient and modern times. Their importance as languages has been exaggerated by the fact that they have been the vehicles of expression for the most important religious systems of the human race. The literature preserved in these languages, while it is by no means comparable in extent and variety with that preserved in the Aryan languages, is, nevertheless, of large extent and great interest; the present thought of the world is still deeply concerned with the beliefs, usages, and records which were first embalmed in writing by men of the Semitic race.

Reasons of the importance of Semitic languages.

It may be accepted as true that all languages in their first estate were monosyllabic. The first men spoke, as it were, in a single syllable, each utterance corresponding to some concept of the mind. The simplicity of the first ideas which were gathered in the processes of sense-perception and thought by the primitive races made it possible to give thereto adequate expression by monosyllabic utterance. From this simple germ the growth of language began. When complexity of thought arose, complexity of speech was its necessary correlative. Compound ideas required the juxtaposition of two or more monosyllabic words. The first ideas of this sort were expressed by a kind of circumlocution. Several monosyllables were joined together or, as we might say, hyphenated, thereby producing a vehicle for a complex idea.

Evolution of language from the monosyllabic stage.

Afterwards the contraction of several monosyllables into a single verbal form would become more complete, until the words composing the compound would take the character of *syllables* in the modern sense of the term. Rapidity of utterance would finish the process, and leave as its result a language composed of monosyllables, dissyllables, and polysyllables of varying length. In course of time some words, often used for a given office, would be reduced to affixes, suffixes, and modifying variables. Some vowels would be found convenient and natural for the office of connectives.

The inflectional part of language would thus arise and continue to develop until the demands of the mind for evo-

1

דען לעצט סאט נאטט דיך וועלט נעלויפענעץ ידאס
ער זיינען זייגענפארנען זאהן גאנ, לויף דאס
לעלע, דיך מן לויפן נלויפען, ניכט פערלאהרן
וועדען, זאכדערן דאז עווינע לעפען סאנען.

2

וְיארין בָּאט הָאט דִיא וֶועקְט אֲזוֹ גְּרִלִיבְּט, דָאשׁ עֶר
הָאט גְּיגֶעבּרן זַיין אֵייְנְצִיגֶן זוהן, אז אִיטְלִיכֶר
וואשׁ גְּלַייבְּט אָן אִיהם זָאל נִיט פַֿאר־לוֹרִין וֶועְרִין,
נַייִשֶׁרט עֶר זָאל הָאבּן דָאשׁ אֵייבִּיגִי לָעבּן:

3

פורקי לנסי לומו לויל דיין לס לויל מוכדו לסטה דלר
לס סו לינו רינגלגדו כלרס קי טודו לויל קי קריליי
לין לויל נו סי דיפוידרס סינו קי טיננה צידס די
סיימכרי.

PARAGRAPHS FROM HEBREW.
1, German Style; 2, Polish; 3, Spanish.

lutionary variations of thought would be satisfied. Grammar would answer to the necessities of mental growth.

It is the first great peculiarity of the Semitic languages that the processes of linguistic evolution which we have just described were, in the case of these languages, *arrested* at a certain stage. Beyond that stage there was no further progress in inflectional development or verbal expansion of any kind. The Semitic languages, in a word, never got beyond the monosyllabic stage of growth. Instead of that freedom of evolutionary changes and efflorescence which we see in all the Aryan languages, and which in the case of the great languages of the latter group, such as Greek and Latin, were not satisfied until a vast polysyllabic vocabulary and highly developed grammar had been produced, we find in the Semitic tongues a sudden arrestment at the monosyllabic epoch, and the crystallization of both grammar and vocabulary in forms admitting of no further inflection or change. True it is that in the languages of the Semitic peoples we find what appear to be many polysyllabic words; but on a scientific examination these resolve themselves into a single syllable with its added particles and meager inflection.[1]

Semitic languages arrested in process of development.

Not only are the words of Semitic languages single monosyllables with small grammatical inflection effected by prefixes, infixes, suffixes, and the like, but these words are confined within the narrow limits of a triliteral framework. The framework is consonantal. The vowels are virtually neglected. The alphabets of the various Semitic languages present a list of consonants, with only small suggestions of those vowels which constitute so large a part of the open utterance of speech. As a rule, the consonants only were used by the ancient Semites in their writings. In the reading of such writings the supplying of the vocalic elements was left to the reader. The vowels were produced in writing by the setting of points or small marks in connection with the consonants. The vowels were, so to speak, impunctuated after the consonantal framework of the words had been produced.

Peculiar triliteral framework of Semitic speech.

[1] Thus, for instance, the Hebrew word *hashshamayim*, meaning "the heavens," looks like a polysyllable. It is really, however, only the monosyllable *shama*, or *sh'ma*, or *sham*. The syllable *hash* is the article *ha*, the last two letters of it (*sh*) being assimilated from the first two letters of *sham*. The syllable *im* is merely the plural affix, and the *y* the Hebrew euphonic *yod*, making smooth the transition of sound between the syllables *shama* and *im*. Thus *hashshamayim* is a true monosyllable with its verbal husk of particles and suffixes. So in all cases whatsoever. In the Semitic languages two significant root words can not combine.

It were difficult to discover for what *reason* the vowels of the Semitic languages (generally only three in number —a, i, u) were reduced to such a subordinate office. In the pronunciation of words the vowels must indeed constitute the body of the sound, and the consonants only the limiting elements by which the sounds are bounded and defined. The vowel in all languages is as a fluid in a phial; the phial is the consonant. But the Semitic peoples in the reproduction of their languages in writing chose to regard the consonants as the essential elements of speech. Nor may we fail to note the fact that this view is to a degree substantiated by modern science. The vocalic element of language is common to the utterance of man and beast, but the consonantal part can be produced only by the organs of man. Birds and four-footed creatures can be taught to utter vowels, but such sounds lack definition. The lips and tongue and palate must be brought to a high degree of flexibility and discipline under the presidency of the ear and

Subordinate place of vowels in Hebrew alphabet.

PROFESSIONAL LETTER WRITER.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

reason before the finer consonantal parts of language can be produced. This discipline brutes can not attain.[1]

Immense difference in nature of Semitic and Aryan words.

He who has not given some attention to the study of Semitic languages can hardly appreciate the immense difference between their fundamental structure and that of Aryan speech. The latter seems to have grown like a vine, expanding and branching according to the demands of thought, until great complexity of development was reached in all of its parts and combinations. Such words as *indivisibility*, *immaterriality*, *inconceivableness*, and the like, show plainly how easily and naturally the principle of combination and the euphonic linking of part with part have been attained in the words of our own language.

Peculiarities of the triliteral development.

In the Semitic tongues such development seems to have been impossible. Every language of this family of speech became crystallized at the triliteral stage, and the only freedom henceforth discoverable is the slipping apart of the three consonants for the insertion of the vowels in such manner as to vary the meaning.[2]

Features of the grammar and construction of Semitic.

If the verbal differences between the Semitic and Aryan speech be great, the difference in grammatical structure is still greater. Grammar in our sense of the term scarcely exists in any Semitic language. There were, out of the necessity of the case, certain distinctions of number (singular, dual, and plural) in the Semitic verb; also modifications by adding pronominal elements to the verbal root to distinguish the first, second, and third person. Even beyond this, strangely enough, in the second and third persons the Semitic verb distinguishes the gender of the subject. Thus, if *qatala* signifies "he killed," then "she killed" will be *qatalat*, a distinction not recognized in Aryan verbs except in their participial forms. Of mood and tense—two properties of the verb which in Indo-European languages perform so large a part in the expression of thought — the Semitic tongues knew but little. The strong antithesis of past action with present, and of present with future, distinctions which seem not only convenient but essential and necessary in our forms of speech, were by the Semitic mind ignored.

In the Semitic grammar there were really but two tenses, a perfect and an imperfect, and the distinctions between these were so slight that verbs in the one form might be exchanged for the other form without confusing the expression. One tense form of the Semitic verb denotes completed, and the other incomplete, action. Of the vast and varied modal development of the Aryan verbs the Semitic language was able to produce but little. Instead thereof, the latter has produced peculiar conjugational forms indicative of the *character* of the verbal action. Some-

[1] The fact that language is essentially a consonantal product gave good ground for the witty and sarcastic definition of etymology by Voltaire. "Etymology," said he, "is the science in which the consonants do not signify much and *the vowels nothing at all!*"

[2] In order to illustrate the peculiar character of Semitic language—its triliteral, consonantal structure and strange internal use of the three vowels, a, i, u—the following example of verbal development is given from Arabic. In that language the general idea of killing is expressed by the triliteral root q-t-l. From this we have the following: Qatala, "he killed;" Qutila, "he was killed;" Qutilu, "they were killed;" Uqtul, "kill" (imper.); Qatil, "killing;" Iqtāl, "causing to kill;" Qātl, "murder;" Qitl, "enemy;" Qutl, "murderous." In all of these verbal expressions the consonantal part q-t-l stands fast—the whole modification being effected by the varying impunctuation of the vowels.

times that action is transitive, sometimes causal, or intensive, iterative, conative, reflexive, and the like. A simple verb such as *qatala*, "he killed," becomes intensive when written or pronounced *qattala*, giving the meaning of "he killed *with violence*," or "he *mas-*fragment *in* gives *inqatala*, with the meaning "he killed *himself*." These strange modal changes in the verb are carried to a great degree. The modern Arabic verb presents fifteen such variations of verbal forms, and the greater part of these are in constant use.

SOLOMON'S POOL.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

sacred." Again, by lengthening the first vowel of *qatala* into *qātala*, the meaning is no longer "he killed," but he *tried* to kill." The transference of the first vowel to the position of a prefix gives *aqtala*, meaning "he *caused* to kill." The prefixing of the pronominal

The next peculiarity of the Semitic languages is the absence of a neuter, or indeterminate, gender of the noun. Only two genders, masculine and feminine, are recognized. The nouns have three numbers, as already indicated, and these qualities are carried into the verb. Of

case, there is hardly an indication in Semitic grammar. Of this quality Aramaic and Hebrew nouns have none at all. Modern Arabic makes a slight distinction between nominative and objective; in some words the genitive, or possessive, is distinguished. For the rest, that striking property of nouns and pronouns which Aryan grammar describes as case is unknown in Semitic speech.

Typical character of Semitic dialects preserved in all.

The question may well arise in this connection how it is that languages as far apart in time as the extremes of human history, as widely divergent in space as the borders of Persia and the Pillars of Hercules, and used by races as far removed from each other in ethnic development as the primitive Chaldees and the modern Abyssinians, may be thus spoken of in their essential parts as though they were a single tongue. The answer is that the Semitic languages have not diverged from each other with the lapse of time and the interposition of space as have the Aryan languages. True, a certain measure of divergence exists. Old Aramaic is not Hebrew. Hebrew is not Arabic. Arabic is not the same as Phœnician. But the differences are only dialectical. The departure in no case has been so great as to prevent the consideration of all the Semitic languages in the character of a group of cognate dialects.

Extremes of differentiation in Aryan not found in Semitic.

In the Aryan languages, on the other hand, we find the greatest extremes of development and gradation. How vast is the difference between Russian and Ionic Greek, between Persian and German, between Hindustanee and Erse? In the Semitic languages we should look in vain for these extremes. The differences among the latter group are like the smaller divergences of certain modern Indo-European tongues such as that between the Spanish and Portuguese, Italian and French, or, at most, like that between English and Dutch. Nor has the lapse of time effected any great change in the character of the Semitic tongues. The Arabic of the present day is almost as rigid, as bald, as simple, as pictorial, forcible, and vivid, as was the Hebrew which was spoken by the prophets of Israel. The development of new linguistic forms in these tongues has been rendered almost impossible by the fact that the Semitic vocabulary refuses the admission of compound words. The rugged severity and persistence of the original forms has been adhered to, and has at length become necessary. It might almost be said that if the rigid triliteral hulls in which the vocabulary and the thought of the Semitic races have been preserved should be burst by the force of some expansive principle of growth, the whole spirit and genius of the race, as well as its language proper, would pass away and disappear!

Stages and aspects in the development of Semitic tongues.

We may properly in this connection proceed to summarize briefly the various stages and aspects in the development of Semitic language. The question of the oldest phase of the linguistic development of the Semitic race turns, of course, upon the ethnic and historical origin of this division of mankind and its earliest rise into civilization. The first seat of the Semites is still in dispute. The primitive tribes of this stock may have come from the highlands of Armenia. Some ethnologists would place the primitive seat in Chaldæa. Others would make them to have taken their rise from Southeastern Africa. Certainly one of the oldest forms of the Semitic languages was that which we find in the Aramaic inscriptions of Nineveh and Babylon.

Of this form of speech we have spoken sufficiently in other parts of the present work. It may suffice in this connection to note the spread of Aramaic, first far and wide through all Syria, including Canaan. On the east and north the mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan mark the limits of expansion. Finally, at a later period in Hebrew history, Aramaic triumphed in Palestine, taking the place of what may be called classical Hebrew.

ANCIENT HEBREW MANUSCRIPT—ROLLED RIGHT AND LEFT.

More important than any other language of this family was the Hebrew. This is the tongue which secured at a very early day a fixed form in the tradition of the Abrahamites, and afterwards became the literary and religious organ of the race in the books of the Old Testament. Of this language, we have specimens which may probably be referred to a period beyond the thousand-year line B. C. Of this kind of ancient fragment the *Song of Deborah*, in the Book of Judges, is thought to furnish an adequate example.

Great importance of Hebrew among cognate languages.

Though it is not possible for us to recover with any measure of certainty the pronunciation of the primitive Hebrew, we may approximate its sense, and even its orthography. As to the form in which it was written, that was Samaritan until after the captivity. From its earliest forms the language—though rude—became classical in the age of the Kings. At that period it presented also its greatest literary activity. The language was national, with only such slight dialectical differences as could scarcely be detected.[1] The man of Israel might travel from

Uniformity of Hebrew throughout Palestine.

[1] The reader will recall that in a time of civil war (Judges xii) a dialectical test was applied by the victorious men of Gilead to the Ephraimites, who in a lisping manner could not "frame to pronounce" the key-word *Shibboleth*, but called it *Sibboleth* instead.

Dan to Beersheba with no interpreter. The language was employed by prophet and scribe and poet in the production of that literature in which the ancient Hebrew mind is seen most clearly reflected by the people of the Western nations.

Then came the conquest and exile of Judah. The language reeled under the blow. The Jews took with them their native tongue into Babylonia. For a while they maintained it in their banishment; but at length intermarriage and the prevailing speech of their captors, together with the pressure of authority, brought about that modification which we find of the original tongue in the later period of Israelitish history. It would not be correct to suppose that Hebrew was extinguished either in Palestine or among the captives by the rivers of Babylon; but a popular speech grew up, and the old Hebrew was henceforth restricted to the ceremonies of religion and the teaching of the schools.

How the captivity modified the language.

Aramaic became the language of the people. The Book of Daniel begins in Hebrew, but the narrative breaks presently into Aramaic, and runs in that tongue for several chapters, returning to Hebrew near the close. The same composite character is noticeable in Ezra and Nehemiah. For literary uses Hebrew in its purer forms receded, and was supplanted by the Aramic. Many of the later books of the Bible, even the Psalms, are strongly marked with the Aramaic dialect, insomuch that by the age of the Maccabees the old language had disappeared, both as a vernacular and a vehicle of literary expression.

Aramaic usurps the place of the ancient tongue.

As the Jewish nation approached the close of its career, the Hebrew became more and more the tongue of the learned, less and less the language of the people. It receded into the schools, and was limited henceforth to the teachings of the rabbins and the ceremonial of the priests. Even in this new relation Hebrew passed into a secondary form, suffering deterioration, as Latin did in the later ages of the empire. Much of that great mass of Jewish lore which the race still possesses under the name of Mishna was written in Neo-Hebrew, corresponding to what is known in history as Low Latin. In this form the language possessed a considerable element of Aramaic, and the grammar was wrought into many modifications to suit the necessities of that legal and ritualistic lore which composes the body of the Mishna. But after all allowances for these changes, the Low Hebrew, as it was spoken and written by the learned in the ages succeeding the capture of Jerusalem and the extinction of Judaic nationality, was much the same language which it had been in the ages of the kings.

Hebrew becomes the language of the learned.

In delineating these changes and departures from the old established type of Semitic speech, it must be borne in mind that such changes do not represent great departures such as were produced in the audacious off branchings of the Aryan tongues, but only those slight deflections from the common type of which the Semitic languages were capable. Such was the inflexibility, the persistence of form, the rigidity of verbal and grammatical structure, that to vary from the established Semitic was to cease to speak the language altogether. One of the most surprising facts in the whole history of language is the near approach of the most recent Arabic dialects to the language heard in the streets of ancient Jerusalem, on the wharves of

Narrow limits of dialecticism in Semitic.

Tyre and Sidon, and under the shadow of the brick-built temples of the most ancient city of the Chaldæan plain.

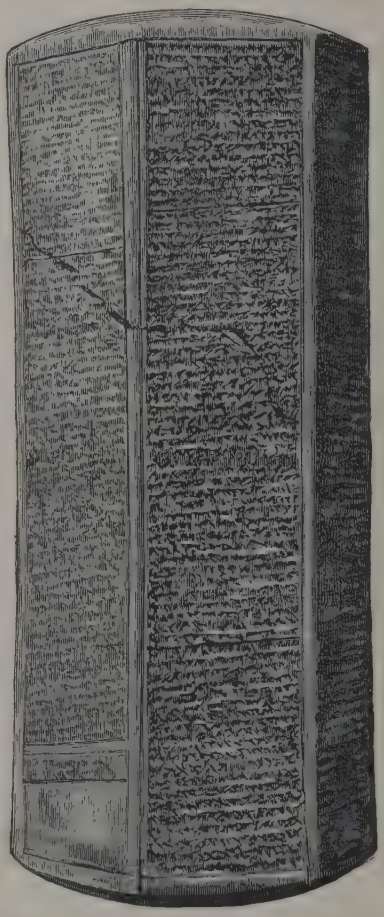
Historically, we may reckon the language spoken on the Lower Euphrates to be the eldest, and, in a sense, the original, of all the Semitic tongues; but linguistically it would appear that Phœnician is the first in time and development. The scholar in language is confused in such inquiry by the inconstant evolution of speech and the art of writing. It is by the latter and its products that the linguist is obliged to determine the relative antiquity of languages. It appears that some tongues pass but slowly into the written form. Or it may be that such languages have had the misfortune for several ages to be written in a perishable manner. It is doubtless true that many languages which have had written expression, and have even attained to literature, have gone down to the oblivion of the under world simply because of the perishable *materials* that were employed as the vehicle of writing.

Inconstant evolution of speech and art of writing.

Other nations have been more fortunate in the choice or invention of their materials. It is customary to regard Phœnician as the original of the literal characters employed by the younger Semites and of the alphabets of nearly all European nations. It must be allowed in such a deduction, however, that it were better to consider all of the characters and syllabaries of the Semitic peoples as derived from some *common* original older than either Phœnician or cuneiform Chaldee.

However this may be, the Phœnician inscriptions belonging mostly to the period between 600 and 400 B. C. present a language closely resembling Hebrew. It has been with the greatest difficulty that scholars have secured from the inscriptions of Tyre and Sidon and Carthage the true elements and capacities of the Phœnician tongue. This, however, has been successfully accomplished. The language is found to be in both vocabulary and grammar no more than a dialectical branch of the common Semitic language. A few Phœnician words are based upon Assyrian roots, and others on forms which occur only in Arabic; but, on the whole, Phœnician and Hebrew, as well as Aramaic and Hebrew, are but slightly divergent varieties of the same tongue.

Close affinity of Phœnician and Hebrew.



ANCIENT ARAMAIC CYLINDER WITH INSCRIPTIONS.

Any rational consideration of the Semitic languages will show the improbability, *a priori*, of their use as a vehicle of science, literature, and philosophy. Their fixedness of form and resistance to innovation are precisely the qualities which scientific and literary languages must not possess. The vivid and pictorial quality, however, was present in the Hebraic languages, and upon this the meager poetry of those languages is founded. There was a small historical capacity in Hebrew and Aramaic; also in Phœnician and Carthaginian. But the ability of the Semitic tongues in this respect was limited. The structure of the sentence and the paragraph was too simple and too little varied for the free evolution of historical narrative. The syntactical method of *parataxis*, or joining by addition, prevails over that elaborate *hypotaxis* of which the Aryan languages are capable. This is to say, that Semitic sentences and parts are attached to each other merely on the same level of thought and expression by means of the copula *and*. One thing is affirmed, *and* another, *and* another, until the poor meager clause or paragraph is completed. The subordination of one part to another, and the voluminous expansion of a compound concept so natural to Aryan speech, and so easily effected in the hands of one skilled in the use of his native tongue, was impossible under the fixed and monotonous iteration and linking of part to part which constituted the essentials of Semitic composition.

Incapacity of Semitic languages for scientific expression.

AFTER THE CAPTIVITY.—READING THE LAWS TO THE PEOPLE.

As the vehicle of religious thought, however, the Semitic languages seem to have surpassed all others. At least it has been the fate of things that the three great religions of mankind, as dis-

Superiority of the language as a vehicle of religious thought.

tinguished from the beliefs of a polytheistic and mythological paganism, have had their origin in a Semitic source. Hereafter we shall consider the religious evolution among the Semites, but for the present we note only the fact that the languages which were spoken by these people were the strongest auxiliary to the preservation of their religious institutions. Every Semitic language was seemingly the natural and unchangeable vehicle of those religious beliefs which in their institutional development became in the first age Judaic, in the second Christian, and in the third Islamite. The language was of a kind to hold fast a belief, and to prevent its inflection into other forms, or its deterioration into idolatries and myths. It was almost impossible for a dogma once recorded in a Semitic tongue, and accepted by the people who spoke it, to change its form.

It was for this reason in large measure that the religious beliefs, practices, and institutions of the Semitic peoples, and of the Hebrews in particular, held persistently to the original ideals, imagery, and structure. It is so, and for like reason, to the present day. So long as the Hebrew Bible continues to be the textbook of the Jewish rabbis throughout the world, their faith and institutional forms of religion must remain virtually the same as in the age of the ancient theocracy! In like manner Islam can suffer little or no deterioration so long as the stern, rigid, and invariable language of the Koran continues to be the vehicle of its expression. In a word, the expression and the fact in every Semitic language have a common fate. The expression is the limitation and containing-shell of the fact. Break the expression, and the fact will disappear. It is the stubbornness, the persistency of linguistic forms that among all peoples has kept the religious and theological evolution in abeyance, while the scientific and philosophical evolutions have run ahead with ever increasing rapidity.

Rigidity of Hebrew speech preserves religious ideas.

CHAPTER CVIII.—GENIUS AND ARTS.

THE Semitic races have, on the whole, been next to the Aryan races in achievement and renown. This is true of the thought and the deed which in their combination constitute the essence and tangible form of civilization. The Aryan races have far surpassed the rest of mankind in subduing the earth and holding dominion over it. They have surpassed in their power to think and speak and know. They have excelled in every variety of physical and mental achievement. The continents and seas have yielded to their adventure and conquest. Before their telescopes the heavens have opened to an infinite depth, and the mysteries of worlds and systems innumerable have become as the twice-told story of a familiar book. Under the microscopes of these peoples the other extreme of the universe has in like manner opened downward, until the expanse of nature, viewed atomward, is almost as profound and glorious as the mystery of the heavens. Whatever we know and think and invent and discover

Tremendous intellectual achievements of Aryan races.

in the worlds of material nature and of thought and purpose, has been almost exclusively derived from the intellectual activity and acumen of the Aryan peoples.

Semites rank next to the Aryans in progress.

After these the Semitic peoples have been next in achievement, but by no means equals. The geographical area of the latter has been limited in comparison with what the Aryan races have explored and possessed. The philosophy and science of the Semites have been weak and ineffective as compared with the tremendous attainment of the Aryans. We are now to notice the art and technology of the Hebraic division of mankind; and in this we shall be struck first of all with the inferiority of the latter to those races of the Indo-European stock which have, for the most part, built up the immense structure of human history.

In one of the oldest seats of Semitic civilization, namely, in Mesopotamia, the development of a national life, first in the Chaldæan plain, and afterwards at Nineveh and the other Assyrian cities, brought with it a modicum of artistic achievement. This, however, had respect almost wholly to architecture and architectural decorations. The Chaldees had little art beyond the range of their buildings and the ornamentation thereof—little to satisfy the finer perceptions of the mind. Perhaps there were the rude elements of plastic art among the men of Chaldæa; but of artistic effects in color few, if any, traces have been discovered. The Assyrians made greater progress in these particulars, as did also the later Babylonians. Assyrian sculpture flourished within narrow limits, and both the Assyrians and the Babylonians cultivated artistic effects in color—at least in the matter of personal costume and adornments.

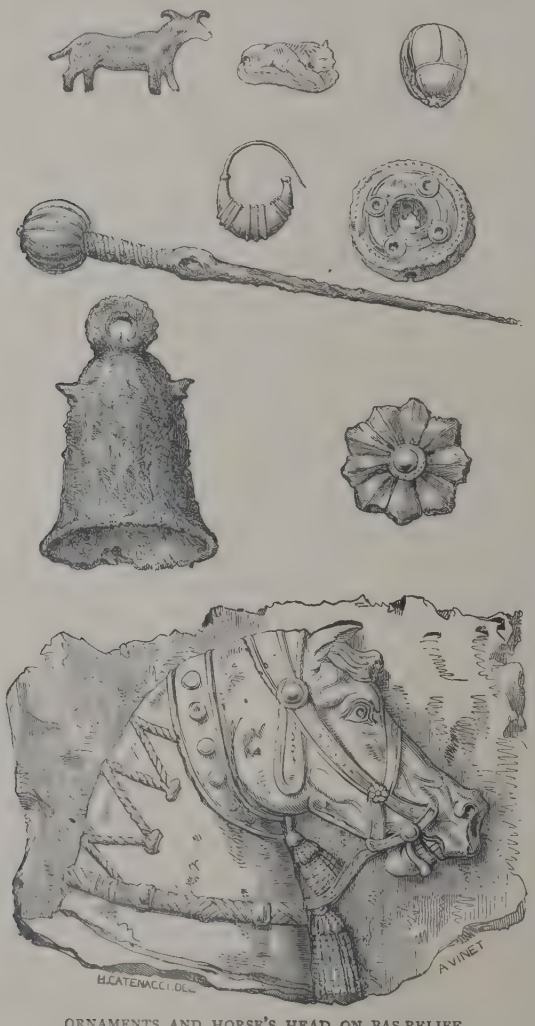
Narrow limits of art culture among Semitic peoples.

CARPET WEAVING ON HOUSETOP.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

As the Middle Semites, that is, the Hebraic division of the race, spread westward into Syria, and particularly into the parts adjacent to the Eastern

Mediterranean—as the Phœnician commercial cities arose and the Abrahamites came in at length from the East and settled in Canaan—there were still few indications of the artistic spirit. Observe how the concepts and inspiration of art were wanting to these peoples. Take the Hebrews for example. How gray and monotonous were the color and landscape of their imagination! Those migrant tribesmen were not without a glow of warmth, enthusiasm, and hope; but their faces looked up solemnly toward the midnight heavens. The majestic stars were over their heads. Their dream was of the greatness and serenity of the sky. To them the fretted vault on high seemed as the work of an Infinite hand. Under its shadow and curtain they became worshipers of an unseen power. Their thought took no form of fancy. Their emotions were serious, and found vent only in forming concepts of almightiness and in vague ejaculations of praise.

Feebleness of the artistic sense among the Hebrews.



ORNAMENTS AND HORSE'S HEAD ON BAS-RELIEF.
Drawn by H. Catenacci, from original in museum of the Louvre.

In the migratory period of a race it were irrational to expect artistic achievement. It is in that precise period, however, that the fanciful dreams of mythology—winged forerunners of the dawn of art—prevail and flourish. At that age, also, the rudiments of the heroic epics take birth and substance. Neither the one nor the other, neither the fanciful inflections and hallucinations of mythology nor the early epic of heroes, battlemen, and protagonists, appeared among the Hebraic races. Theirs only the solemn and awe-struck dream of religion! Theirs only the serious and profound adoration of El, of Baäl, of Beël-saman, of Adonaï, of Marnas, of Shet, of Moloch, of Milcom, of Malika, of Eliun (god of Melchisedec), of Ram, of Rimmon, and finally of Jehovah-Elohim. It is all a devotion of the intellect and imagination of a race of people to the single theme of religion, of worship, and of ceremonial suitable for the celebration of the gods. Of art, there is none.

Art could not be developed during migration.

ASSYRIAN PALACE RESTORED.—Koyunjik.—After Ledyard.

The same spirit in the Hebraic races continued to prevail after the sedentary life was substituted for the pastoral; after cities were built in Canaan; after the theocracy was established and elaborated; after that theocracy yielded to the monarchy; and finally throughout the national career of the Hebrew race. In vain should we look in the bald, bleak towns of Judah and Israel for artistic taste and culture. At a very early period the Hebrews conceived a strong religious prejudice against pictorial and other artistic forms. Some of the nations had made pictures and statues of their gods. Against this the Abrahamites vehemently protested. They disclaimed all pictorial representation of the deity. They said that their God had no form or semblance in the earth. To them he was an unpictured, evolving flame of fire. In such similitude Moses had seen him in a bush in Midian. To give, therefore, the forms of art to divine things was to encourage idolatry.

Protest of the Hebrews against pictorial representations.

This anti-artistic prejudice stood strongly against the æsthetic aspiration—if such existed—among the Hebrews. The same principle wrought the like result among all the Semites. Take, for example, the wide and easy domain of architecture. Many races of small reputation on the historic page have far surpassed the best achievement of the Semites. Great was the indifference of the latter to all *effect* in building. It should not be said or supposed that the frequently massive and many times highly ornate buildings of the Semitic peoples displayed no evidences of *skill* and *genius* in their design and construction. On the contrary, many of the temples and palaces produced by men of this race have been among the most costly and highly adorned of the structures reared by man; but they were really inartistic—devoid of the imaginative element, adorned only in the gorgeous manner of the East, and with a view of testifying to the wealth of princes or the magnificence of the gods.

Indifference of all Semites to artistic effects.

Semitic palaces and temples were generally built without respect to beauty of form. Confining ourselves for the present to the works of the Hebrews, we find no beauty of form in any of their buildings. Doubtless the greatest by a large remove of all their structures was their national temple at Jerusalem. What was the shape of its ground form? Merely a parallelogram—simplest of all the plans of structure. What was the likeness of the building? Merely a glittering cube, or a parallelopipedon; no variation was attempted from the outlines of a block or a box. Gorgeousness there was in every part—costliness without and within. But architectural art was wholly absent, and decorative art almost exclusively limited to luxurious adornment with gold and Oriental workmanship.

The temple of Solomon artistically considered.

We may not, however, depreciate the decorations of the temple. The finest of these were the winged creatures that were set hovering over the ark, the golden candlesticks, and the curious embroidery of the curtains. Of these three things we have an elaborate, but not very distinct, description in the Pentateuch. The winged figures lacked one of the first essentials of art in this, that they were not done in the similitude of any existing thing. They were made after a concept and description which had been caught in glimpses by Moses and transmitted by him to his workmen. But the winged creatures were not in the form of any

Ornamentation takes the place of art; the cherubim.

likeness in the earth or visible heavens. They were called Cherubim, or the Wise Angels. Modern scholars and artists are not agreed as to the figure which the Hebrew workmen gave to these guardian effigies of the Holy Place; but the cherubim are generally represented as angelic in face and with outstretched wings, spread above the ark into which

FURNITURE OF HEBREW TABERNACLE AND PRIEST IN ROBES.

the creatures looked as if to inquire of a mystery.

The figures were mostly of beaten gold, and the workmanship was doubtless gorgeous and elegant. Whether the cherubim in their outlines and poise might be regarded as artistic—judged by the canons of modern art—may never be determined; but whether they were or not, they doubtless represented the highest æsthetic concept of the Hebrew race. The golden candlesticks, again, were costly and ornate rather than artistic. There was a sense, however, in which they were better art than the cherubim. For they were made in the likeness of things natural and visible to the eye. The flowering almond seems to have been the origin of the design; and this the artist followed in forming the six outbranching arms of the sacred lamp. This, like the cherubim, was made of "one beaten work of pure gold. Of a talent of pure gold made he it, and all the vessels thereof."

Elegance and costliness of the figures; the candlesticks.

It is of interest to note that the two men upon whom Moses relied for the design and execution of the great works

of the tabernacle were genuine Hebrews. Bezaleel was a man of Judah, and his colaborer, Aholiab, a Danite. The latter is represented as being an engraver, and a man of skill in workmanship and embroidery. The former would appear to have drawn the design and done the ideal work in the execution of the eight cubits in length and four cubits in breadth, were wrought of fine twined linen, with blue and purple and scarlet ornamentation, and "with cherubim of cunning work." Five of these great curtains were coupled together, so as to make a division in the tabernacle; and the same manner was afterwards used in furnishing of the national temple on Moriah.

Moses employs native workmen; ornaments of tabernacles.

ARCHITECTURE OF TOWNS (NAZARETH).—Drawn by H. A. Harper.

sacred ornaments. Bezaleel was also a worker in wood; for it was he who made the ark of fine wood, and ornamented it with its castings of gold rings, and with staves for bearing the sacred repository from place to place. To these principal workmen were added other men of skill, wise-hearted in the fabrication of ornaments and decorations.

The tapestry of the tabernacle, and afterwards of the temple, was of artistic design. The heavy curtains, twenty-

It is not needed that we should enumerate the other articles of art and service in and about the great sanctuary of the Hebrews. With the exception of the cherubim over the ark, it is probable that all the ornate tapestry, vessels, and implements of the tabernacle and temple had in them the quality of *utility*. They were useful first, and ornamental and artistic in the secondary sense. There was a fine table for the

Decorations and implements of the altar.

showbread; an altar of incense; a brazen altar of burnt offering, with its horns overlaid with brass; twenty pillars with brazen sockets and hooks of silver; hangings for the gate of the court, and many other parts of ornamentation bearing the marks of at least elegant artisanship.

The temple of King Solomon, planned in the time of his father but executed and dedicated in his own reign, has held a large place in the estimation of the Hebrews and of all Christian nations. It was not a large or imposing structure. Its situation on Moriah lifted it up into a conspicuous view from Jerusalem and the surrounding country. Its elegant and costly ornamentation without gave it brilliancy. The sunlight was reflected from the gold and silver plating of the façade—if so we may call the front elevation of the structure. In the matter of expenditure, the temple might well compare with the great buildings of the world; but in artistic design, it must be relegated to the level of common buildings of the mart and assembly. It was in the curious artisanship of the temple and in the profusion of its golden ornamentation that the national sanctuary has its place among the famous buildings of the ancient world.

Situation and general estimate of the temple.

POTTER AT THE WHEEL.
Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

As to other architectural achievements, the Hebraic peoples were little distinguished above the half-barbarous nations of their age. Doubtless the towns of Palestine and Phœnicia, like those of the broader Syria round about, were picturesque in their situation and distant view; but the low, square houses which composed such towns and cities, like the corresponding structures in the same countries to-day, were unknown to art in either design or construction. This may be said also of house decoration generally among the Hebraic peoples. Even the ancient skill of their fathers in Mesopotamia seems to have been lost in the westward migration of the Canaanites, and of the Phœnicians and Hebrews in particular.

Architectural insignificance of Hebrew towns.

The barrenness of these races in pictorial and plastic art is something that may well excite the astonishment of after times. It might almost be said that the Hebraic peoples west of Mesopotamia have never carved a statue or painted a canvas! As compared with the facility and abundance of Aryan, and even Hamitic, art, the Semites are totally

Poverty of the Hebrew race in art work proper.

eclipsed. The latter rose to the level of cunning workmanship, and in a few instances to elegant and luxurious decoration; but of that wide, free art in which the inspired imagination and skillful fingers of Aryan genius have wrought their marvels through many ages of time and in all vicissitudes of circumstance and place, the Hebraic peoples knew nothing and cared as little.

In the useful arts the Semites show

WOMAN GRINDING AT THE MILL.
Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

to a better advantage. In this respect there is a considerable divergence and differentiation of the several branches of the race. Some had a better technology and some a worse. Those who turned their energies at an early period to commerce and foreign intercourse became, under the reäctions of such a manner of life, manufacturers and artisans. Of this kind were the inhabitants of the great seaport cities of Phœnicia. Few emporia of the ancient world had greater activities of the sort here referred to than did Tyre and Sidon in the age of their ascendency. The products of those famous cities were known in all the chief centers of ancient civilization.

Better appearance in the industrial and useful arts.

Confining our attention once more to the Hebrews proper, we note the simple and unprogressive character of the useful arts among them. Their skill in building was limited to the ruder kind of structure. The building of the national temple, above referred to, could hardly have been effected without the aid of foreign architects. The skilled artisans of Phœnicia were called over by Solomon to superintend the building of his temple to Jehovah. Hiram, King of Tyre, furnished the chief builders; only the simpler parts of the work were assigned to the men of Judah. We have many hints in the Book of Kings and Chronicles of the dependence of the Hebrew rulers upon foreign talent for the prosecution of those higher enterprises which had become necessary under the advancing civilization of the state.

Hebrews depend on Tyrians for architects.

The condition of the useful arts among a people may be generally estimated by the character of their vehicles on wheels. Upon these depends the easy conveyance of merchandise and other property from place to place, and after that the carriage of persons. The different nations of antiquity attained a very variable degree of skill in the manufacture of two-wheeled and four-wheeled vehicles. Generally in ancient times

Wheeled vehicles an index of industrial progress.

strength in carriages of all kinds was attained only in connection with great weight. The light-wheeled vehicles of modern times, in which wood and iron are so skillfully combined for strength and durability, were unknown in ancient times; but in many countries great strength, durability, and beauty were reached in carriages and chariots—this at the sacrifice of lightness and elegance. Though these were heavy, they met in other respects the industrial demands of the age. The Greek makers achieved high success as the manufacturers of vehicles, both for the conveyance of freights and for rapid journeys. The bronze chariots of Rome are famous in history.

PEASANTS PLOWING IN PLAIN OF SHARON.—Drawn by H. A. Harper, from a photograph.

The Semitic peoples of antiquity never advanced beyond the stage of rudeness in the production of wheeled carriages. Their vehicles were mostly of two wheels only. The wheels were made out of disks of wood, bored through at the center for the passage of a large axle. The latter was more frequently framed into the wheels so as to revolve with them. The cart mounted on this primitive structure was as rude as the wheels. Only oxen were used for draught, or perhaps, in rare instances, donkeys. The gearing and attachments by which the beasts were hitched to vehicles were such only as the pastoral nations have invented. Generally the ox drew his load *by his horns*. Rude yokes were invented, and the draught transferred from horns to shoulder. Horses were not employed by the Hebrews either for draught or riding, at least not until a late period in the national history.

Wheeled carriages of the Semites; gearing of oxen.

Perhaps the first stage of industrial progress among mankind is marked by the introduction of the plow. It is believed that the name of this implement has given the definitive term Aryan (from the root *ar*) to the greatest and most progressive division of the human race. The term could not have been used to designate the Semites. In the earlier stages of their tribal and national career they plowed not at all. Perhaps a considerable period elapsed after the conquest of Canaan by Joshua before the plow was introduced, and then only in its rudest form. A crooked beam of

The plow marks a stage in the human evolution.

wood with a crossbar, sharpened at its lower extremity for share and above arranged for a handle, constituted all there was of the most important industrial implement in the world.

The other outdoor implements of the Hebrew farmer and the gardener were of like simplicity and imperfect forms. In some branches of labor the implements were better. Such were the pruning hooks which the masters of vine-

Outdoor implements and utensils of the Hebrews.

CARRYING HOME THE PLOWS AT EVENING.—Drawn by H. A. Harper, from a photograph.

yards used in the care of their vines and orchards; also the sickle, which seems to have attained a tolerably perfect form. Iron and bronze were known and used in the fabrication of tools, but only to a limited extent. Of the means of applying force in the practical problems of labor the Hebrews knew but little. We may assume that all men in a moderate stage of intellectual development are acquainted with the lever and its uses. The same is true of the wedge. The necessary splitting of timber would soon acquaint even barbarians with this device for the application of force. The inclined plane must have been known from the earliest ages. The wheel and axle and the pulley come next in order of discovery, and finally the screw. It is possible that the wood screw was used by the Hebrews in some of the practical arts. The wine press, however, so much in use among the people, was constructed by leverage; and if the screw was known, its application was limited.

These hints at the physical appliances of a people furnish the clue to much besides. Manufactures in the larger sense can hardly rise above the level of the apparatus employed in production. The

Hebrews possessed a considerable measure of skill in handicraft; but their work in this respect was limited to domestic objects. This is said not of the Canaanites and the Phœnicians, but of the Jewish race proper. We have already remarked upon the primitive inaptitude of this people for foreign commerce. The national sentiment was against it, and the useful arts were accordingly limited to the production of the few articles demanded by the domestic taste. The small area of Palestine forbade a great variety of productions. Domestic trade was of small importance to those whose products were uniform throughout the country.

Manufactures are gauged by the appliances therein.

In the beginning Israel had no seacoast. Only in the age of the Hebrew ascendency was the authority of the state extended to that part of the sea washing the east Mediterranean shore from the bay of Acre to Idumæa. The policy of the state, religious in its first intent and never secular in the sense of modern government, was set against intercourse abroad because of its supposed evil results upon the people. Foreign products, foreign institutions, and foreign gods were alike dreaded and at length despised.

Hebrew policy discouraged foreign intercourse.

IRON WEAPONS OF THE HEBREWS.

From these conditions the industrial life of the race became almost exclusively domestic. The useful arts were limited to that simpler kind of handicraft which has respect to the necessities of the simple estate of a half-rural population. In Jerusalem there were little manufactories and emporia for the exchange of products. Machinery, there was none. The artisans wrought simply with tools in their hands. Some were carpenters. Others worked in the metals. Some made sandals and harness. There was a branch of industry for the manufacture of weapons, and this trade was carried perhaps to greater efficiency than any other. Israel was, from the first, warlike, and must be supplied with the implements of fight. Another class of artisans engaged in the manufacture of apparatus for taking fish. In this industry, also, excellence was attained. The fishermen of Galilee had nets and boats not inferior perhaps to those of the Neo-Syrians and Arabs of the present day.

Domestic features prevail in the industries of Israel.

Of such a people, in such an age, science and scientific investigation should not be expected. We have already spoken of the aptitude of the Mesopotamian Semites for certain branches of scientific knowledge. In some kinds of observation the people of the ancient race surpassed almost all the men of antiquity. It were not correct, however, to suppose that the Chaldees, or any branch of the Semitic race, had caught the true scientific spirit. So far as the intellectual moods precedent to science are concerned, they are two in number. The first of these is observation, and the second is investigation, or experiment. Some kinds of knowledge may be obtained simply by *observing* the phenomena of visible nature. Others must be sought by *investigation:* scrutiny into laws and relations which do not appear to the senses, but appeal only to the understanding.

Scientific spirit not present among the Semites.

It was as observers only that the Chaldee seers became famous in antiquity for their knowledge of the heavens and of sidereal phenomena. They observed. They watched the stars by night. As much as might be seen and pondered they recorded and considered with an attention worthy of an enlightened age. But the Chaldees could not be said to be *investigators* of nature and

The Chaldees famous as observers of nature.

and relations by which all things are bound together.

These primitive qualities of mind were intensified in the case of the Western Semites, and, particularly, in the case of the Hebrews. To the Hebrew mind nature appeared as a sacred mystery, showing forth the almightiness and power of a creator and preserver, but suggesting no reckless examination into the

Manner in which the Hebrews contemplated phenomena.

FISHERMAN CASTING NET.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

of natural laws. Their intellectual scrutiny did not proceed into the arcana of the physical world, or strive to solve the mysteries of the stellar orbs on high. Their knowledge stopped short with the stage of sense-observation. It did not attain the stage of reason and explication. The awe with which all of the Semitic peoples regarded the earth and the heavens prevented the free and courageous examination of the things perceived, or the discovery of the laws secrets of causation and dependence. There was a sense in which the Hebrews, more than any other people of antiquity, recognized and felt the presence of a *cause*. There was another sense in which they less than almost any other race of a like degree of intellectual advancement perceived and apprehended *causes*. The concatenation of antecedent fact with consequent result was unnoticed by the Hebrew mind, or actually avoided as a thing dangerous to be discovered!

Thus the lore of the Chaldees was not cultivated by the Abrahamites. The latter continued, as their ancestors had done, to look up at the heavens; but the lore of the heavens was forgotten by the sages of the Holy Land, who were satisfied to contemplate only the majesty of the invisible power which they recognized behind the visible heavens. The spirit of investigation never appeared among this people. In the age of Solomon there was a branch of culture which concerned itself with recording and, perhaps, classifying the plants and flowers and fruits of the country. The king himself is reputed to have had skill in this branch of knowledge. Certainly this was the preliminary stage of science; but it was checked and brought to a barren delivery by two general causes operating in and upon the Semitic intellect.

Measure of scientific attainment among the Hebrews.

The first of these was that linguistic rigidity of the Hebrew which prevented the inflection of the language to meet the new demands of thought and the increasing necessities of knowledge. It is doubtful whether any Semitic tongue could, at the present time, be employed even by the most skillful scholar in the world as the vehicle for even rudimentary teaching in the laws of natural phenomena. The second fact which held back the Hebrew mind was the religious awe with which it was overshadowed. It is one of the mysteries of human nature that awe seems to forbid investigation, and that investigation tends to put away awe. Awe seems to require that the mystery shall remain mysterious and close at hand. A knowledge of the law of causation seems—particularly in the first stages of scientific investigation—to put the mystery away; not, indeed, to extinguish the mystery, but to remove it to a distance between which and the investigator only the play of cause and effect is discoverable.

Reasons for stationary character of the Hebrew mind.

For these reasons the Hebraic peoples never entered the age of scientific development. They were not wanting in powers of observation, but were deficient in scientific instincts. We should remember, however, that all the ancient peoples were weak as investigators of natural phenomena; but the difference between the Hebrew and the Greek in this respect was very great. The latter was eager to know, to find out, to investigate—curious to inquire into the causes and relations of things. Certainly his knowledge of the natural world, and of the laws by which it is governed, was meager and ridiculous; but the *spirit* of investigation was in him. And if the facts and appearances of the outer world baffled his instinct of inquiry, the same could not be said of his inquisitiveness respecting himself. To no other subject whatsoever did he give his attention with so much zeal and success as to the study of himself, particularly the study of his mind. This was philosophy; and in this the Greek surpassed all men. As a thinker, he had precedence over all. When the modern nations have produced *one man* with the powers of thought and reason possessed by Plato, we may then dethrone the Greek and set up another.

Intellectual dispositions of Greeks and Hebrews.

The Hebrew, however, was not a thinker. In this respect he was as little excursive as he was in the investigation of nature. The Hebrew scarcely considered himself at all. He hardly recognized the existence and activities of his own mind. He formed no system of mental philosophy. He wrote no book in which a rational exposition was attempted of the nature of mind and the

Absence of philosophical spirit in the race.

modes of its action. He made no attempt at a classification of the mental faculties, no effort to distinguish between one kind of knowledge and another. His whole subjectivity related to his sense of sin, of the pressure of divine wrath upon him for unrighteousness, of the means by which the shadow might be rolled away by expiation and sacrifice.

The Hebrew poets showed themselves capable of a strong, almost cruel, analysis of the moral nature of man clouded with shadows, darkened with terror, hurt with crime. But the analysis never reached the mind as such. That, like the mysteries of the natural world, provoked no curiosity. Though, as we shall presently see, the Hebrews produced a religious system destined to extend its influences to all quarters of the civilized world, they were never able to produce a philosophical system; nor did they care that such a system should exist. We must needs be surprised with the absolute barrenness of Hebrew literature as a reflection of reason and philosophy. The mind which produced it, though strong and vehement, was wholly occupied with considerations of another kind.

Severe analysis of moral nature by Hebrew seers.

CHAPTER CIX.—THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION.

E may now notice briefly the governmental system of the Hebrews. In the days of their migration from Chaldæa the government was simply that of the patriarchs. What that was we have tried to explain in another part. In such a state the natural relations of blood and affection are raised until the family becomes a tribe; the father, a patriarch; the patriarch, a governor.

Abrahamites and preceding peoples of Canaan.

The Abrahamites on arriving in Canaan found there the Semitic tribes who had long preceded them in the migration. The latter had already passed from the pastoral to sedentary life, and had organized tribal governments with kings at the head. Melchisedec was King of Salem. To him the father of the Jewish race paid tithes. He is also said to have been a high priest—wherein we may see that union of religion and civil authority for which all the Semitic peoples have been noted. The relation of the King of Salem and Abraham show conclusively the affinity by race and faith of the Salemites and the new comers; they were all alike Semites, and all held in common the belief in one God, not many.

The Abrahamidæ were fast becoming a tribe, like the other Canaanites, when in the fourth generation they were led to remove into Egypt. In Genesis the narrative runs to the effect that *all* of the descendants of Abraham went down in the time of the famine, and were taken under the care of the great grandson. Perhaps we should consider it as a family rather than a tribal migration. The writer of Genesis concerns himself only with so many of the immigrants from Ur as were descended from a single patriarch. Doubtless the migratory movement had brought many clans from Chaldæa to the same region

Process by which the country was Semitized.

in which the Abrahamites proper had settled. Canaan was Semitized. It had been so already for many generations. centuries of time. The family of Abraham was but a personal atom in the great body of immigration.

ABRAHAM AND THE KING OF SALEM.

The movement from the eastern rivers to the western sea had extended over

In Egypt the Israelites had no opportunity for civil government. They were

under the laws and authority of the Egyptians. It would appear that they were aggregated for the most part in the region between Pelusium and the Lower Nile. The situation was such as to permit of no independent civil development. Slaves do not adopt a constitution, or even organize a priesthood. A servile race must accept the law of the master, and even adore the master's gods.

Israel in Egypt a subject nation.

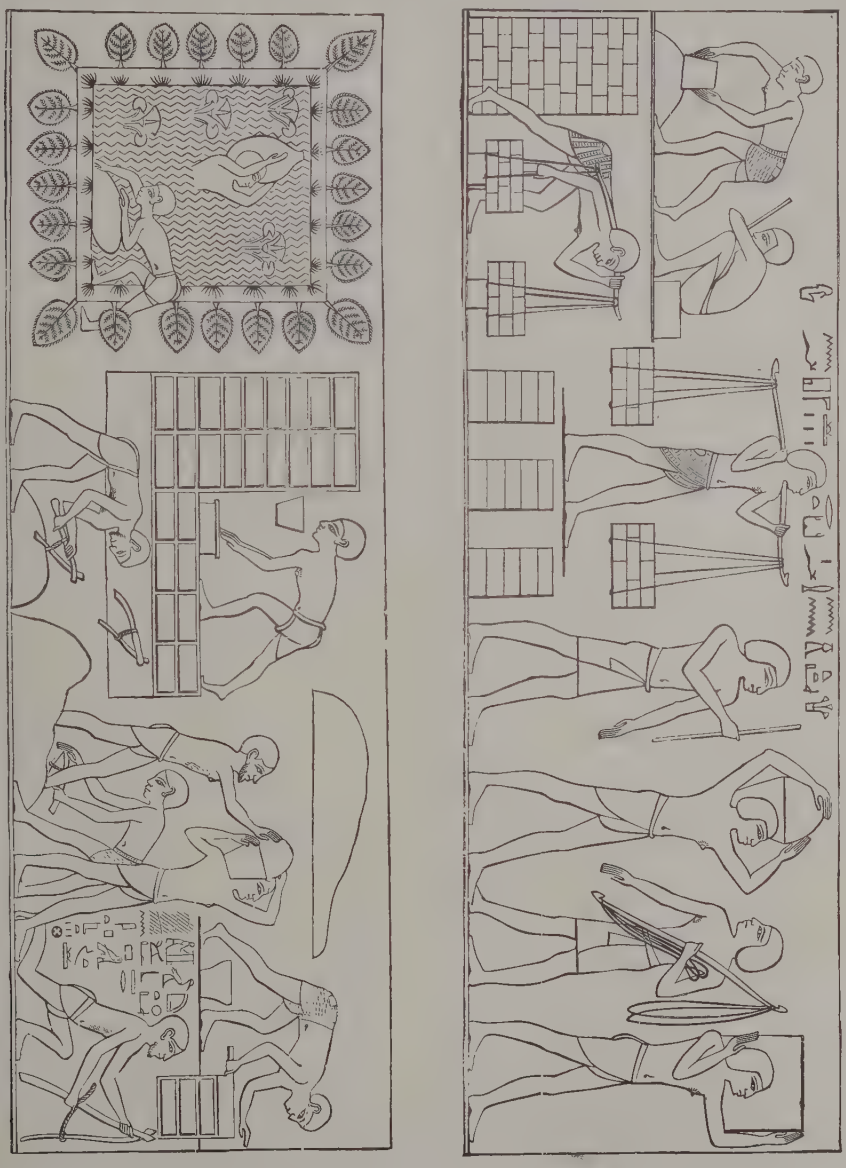
CONSECRATION OF A PRIEST.

Though the story of Israel in bondage as told by the author of Exodus is very different from that recorded in the tradition of the Egyptians, there is an agreement in this, that the Hebrews were a subject people, and that they were expelled in a disorganized mass from the country. On their going forth into the desert, or "the wilderness," as it is termed in Hebrew story, the people were as yet without institutions. They rolled away in the direction of Sinai, and, being once freed from pursuit and persecution, began to become organic. The tribal division had been maintained during the Egyptian period. The several bands of fugitives were gathered into twelve principal divisions, according to the names of their ancestors. Moses and his brother are represented as having almost absolute authority in directing the destinies of the whole people. Their ascendency over the Israelites was referable to the fact that the leaders presented themselves in the name and by the authority of Jehovah, who had

Phases of the going forth of the Hebrews to freedom.

ordered them to lead the nation forth to freedom.

It was at this juncture that the Israeli-



HEBREW SLAVERY IN EGYPT.—MAKING AND CARRYING BRICKS.—From Ebers's *Egypt*.

tish theocracy was prepared in outline. A government by means of a priesthood was established. There was, from the first, a certain secular element in the

The theocracy in outline; secular and religious arm.

authority which was promulgated over the people. If Aaron was high priest, Moses was leader and generalissimo. The two were to be supreme *together*. Neither was a king. Jehovah was the king, and these were his lieutenants. The officers under Moses were military; those under Aaron were religious and

civil. It was on this side that the real government existed. The office of Moses must expire with the period of the Exodus, or, at most, with the reconquest of the Promised Land; but Aaron and the House of Levi should abide forever in authority. In the first intent there was no such thing as civil rule. There was military command; but the authority, both secular and religious, was lodged in the priesthood.

Organization of Israel in the desert.

Under this general outline Israel was organized in the desert. Each tribe was marshaled by itself, and was divided according to clans and families. The military was distinguished from the people —though nearly all of those who were able to bear arms and join battle were listed as "fighting men." A treasury was provided from the first, and that was under the control of the high priest and his subordinates. Out of the nature of things, the journeyings and marchings and removals of Israel in the desert must give a strong military character to the people. The young men grew up in arms. They were under command as soldiers as soon as they were able for battle. Meanwhile, the old nomadic life came back, and it were possible to conceive of the nation's breaking into fragments and becoming, as the Abrahamites had been, shepherds and keepers of flocks on the plain. But the combined authority of the priests and the military captains prevailed over the tendency to disintegration; and though one generation was buried in the desert, the next came around in a circuit against the borders of Canaan.

The battles and wars of Joshua belong to general history. Lapse of time had now widened the breach between the Canaanites and their kinsmen. Relationship of race had been forgotten. The adoption of a severe monotheism by Israel and the worship of different deities by the respective tribes of Canaan gave ground and excuse for the exterminating wars which ensued. The Hebrews came under the banners of Jehovah-Elohim. His promise they possessed in a glorious tradition to the effect that the land should be theirs as far as the Great sea, that it should be given to the seed of Jacob forever. The Israelites therefore fell upon Canaan in the double character of military conquerors and religious zealots. The severity of their treatment of their ancient kinsmen, the men of Canaan, must be explained by the combined military spirit and religious passion of the conquerors.

Harshness of the Hebrews toward the Canaanites.

With the subjugation of the Canaanites the people of Israel found themselves free, after their long continued hardships and trials, to establish their government in a more permanent form. To this end a city should be chosen as a capital. Salem, the chief town of the Jebusites, was found and taken by the Hebrews; and thither, after many vicissitudes, the central objects of the national religion were transferred. The nation was centralized around the city. The lands were apportioned, as we have seen, and a high court established for the exercise of the functions of government. With the completion of the conquest, the military spirit gave way to the theocratic party, and for a while secular authority was almost unknown in Israel. Essentially, the government was monarchical, the high priest being regarded as the representative of the invisible king.

Organization of the Hebrew government at Jerusalem.

We should not, however, pass over that aspect of the civil life which presented itself under the form of the judge-

DESERT MARCH OF THE ISRAELITES.

ship. The office of judge had not been contemplated in the establishment of the theocracy. It arose afterwards as an almost necessary element in the body politic. It was in the nature of things that the priesthood should concern itself more and more with the religious government and ceremonial. The inefficiency of such rule in secular matters soon became apparent. The affairs of the people were neglected or misadministered in instances not a few.

Institution of the judgeship; manner of the choosing.

HIGH PRIEST OF ISRAEL—TYPE AND COSTUME.

Thus the necessity for some one to stand as the organ of public opinion and determine what should be done in times of emergency evoked from the heart of Jewish society the judges. They are said to have "arisen," an expression which suggests the national origin of the judicial office. In reality, the judge was the precursor of the king that was to be. The epoch was transitory from the pure theocracy which had preceded to the absolute monarchy which was to follow. The transition, indeed, was less rapid than might have been anticipated. The theocratic principle held back the movement for a considerable period.

The judges did not succeed each other in regular order. Only three of them, Deborah, Eli, and Samuel, are named as having arisen to the preëminence of the general judgeship of Israel. Could we scrutinize carefully the history of the times, we should doubtless find others rising in this tribe or that to a kind of leadership which, with further development, would have produced a judge. The judge came *per occasionem*. Some contingency of affairs called him forth. His office was hardly at any time statutory. His prerogatives were derived from public opinion; his continuance in office depended upon that condition of affairs which had summoned him forth to leadership. The office had almost a religious sanction. We may suppose that a certain distrust of the priesthood would arise against such an institution; but the theocracy seems to have been complaisant in the presence of the new and salutary secular

Prerogatives and sanctions of the judicial office.

office. The judges, as matter of fact, were deeply imbued with the national faith, and were not likely, in the exercise of their rights, to run counter to the religious prejudices of the people and the priests.

This intermediate office of the judgeship paved the way for a further and much more radical aggression upon the theocracy. Israel was surrounded by kingdoms. Some of them were petty and some great. War was the mood of the age. As a warlike power the theocracy was inefficient. The priesthood was multiple. It lacked concentration. The high priest was frequently wanting in the requisite abilities for the government of a people. He was sufficient as a representative of the national ceremonial. That was recorded and defined in writings and traditions which might not be overstepped. It was a thing of letter and precept and formula, which even blindness might follow with inerrancy. But the large affairs of the growing state were not so. Particularly in times of aggression was Israel weak. There was want of centralization—of unity in the secular arm. The people were quick to perceive the disadvantage at which they were placed in the competition of the age. To the Hebrews of the times of Saul it seemed that they were about to be swallowed up by the hostile elements around them. They perceived that their theocratic organization was not sufficient for these things, and therefore they at length boldly demanded a king.

Motives of Israel for instituting the monarchy.

Now it was that the popular instinct for the first time clearly crossed purposes with the theocracy. The Aaronic Order was clearly and strongly against the kingship. There was logic in the attitude of the priesthood. If Jehovah were the king there could not be another. To put up an earthly king in place of the high priest, the declared representative of Jehovah, was revolutionary and impious. To substitute some other authority for the authority of the Aaronic Order was to destroy the policy and constitution which had made Israel a nation. But the popular voice nevertheless prevailed. It was an example of that general law of evolution

HEBREW KING IN STATE.

The popular will crosses purpose with the theocracy.

which works its own result always among peoples and nations, as well as in the material order of the world.

With the choice of Saul to be King of Israel we enter a new governmental period, which was not essentially changed in its character until the extinction of both divisions of the Hebrew people. We are not here concerned, however, to trace out the course of the Jewish kingdom, either under its first three great monarchs—Saul, David, and Solomon—or after the disastrous division of the state in the time of Solomon's sons. The first two kings were strongly warlike in their dispositions. The turbulence in which the career of Saul was ended must be attributed to the hostility of the priesthood to the new order, and more particularly to the fact that Saul was in little measure disposed to conciliate the theocratic party. David, on the other hand, though as much a warrior as his predecessor, had strong sympathies with the representatives of the theocracy. He brought them readily to his support. He admitted their moral government. Personally, he stood in awe of the priesthood—this for both religious and political reasons. He allowed the representatives of the national religion full freedom within their sphere, and conceded much to their wishes. He submitted to the priest's rebuke for his own sins, and is accredited with sincere repentance under the lash of religious authority.

Relations of the kingship to the theocratic party.

The condition and relationship of the theocracy, which had now become *imperium in imperio*, thus were made semi-constitutional, and ever afterwards the priests and prophets of Israel claimed and exercised the right of religious government in and under the authority of the state. They expostulated, rebuked, or denounced—exhorted, approved, and praised—according to the acceptability of the secular reign as judged by the statutes of Moses and the fathers. This state of affairs supervened at both Jerusalem and Samaria. Israel and Judah alike were pervaded with the theocratic spirit, and though monarchical in form, yielded largely in policy and administration to the dictation of the priesthood.

The priests exercise authority in and under the kingship.

Otherwise, the Jewish monarchies may be regarded as absolute. They differed not much from the Oriental despotisms with which the reader is familiar. There was no secular constitution by which the kings were held in check. Each in his turn took the scepter, generally by heredity, organized his household, constituted his harem, went to war, made peace, and did his will in all things subject only to the dictates of such prudence as a ruler under the given conditions may be expected to exercise. Then, as ever, the check of public opinion lay upon the monarch, and of this public opinion the priesthood was generally the organ. The usual vices of despotic government were more than usually abated in Judah and Israel by the outcry of the ecclesiarchs and prophets; but the salutary influence of the latter was less salutary from the ill-concealed designs of the priesthood to recover their lost estate, and reïnstitute the theocracy pure and simple. To the representatives of this purpose the kingdom was always distasteful—always a thing to be dreaded and curbed, and even terrorized with loud denunciation and outcry of coming woe and vengeance.

The royal household; outcry of the prophets.

The historical writings of the Hebrews give a doleful description of the degeneration and crime of the later kingdoms. The monarchs themselves are for

the most part represented as criminal and wicked. In some cases they are sketched as good. Great is the contrast which the chroniclers draw between the character of such as Josiah and such of ruler whom they could not influence and direct, and their admiration of the other type who yielded readily to their expostulations and authority.

Prejudice of the priests and scribes against the kings.

The reader of history will have noted the recurrence of this phenomenon in

COURT OF SOLOMON.—PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER CONDUCTED TO THE PALACE.

as Ahab. We may discover in the intense coloring of these narratives the deep dislike of the priests to that type almost every country in which literature has belonged as a special cult to the priesthood. In the case of the

kings of Judah and Israel there was no doubt much just ground for the division which the prophets and scribes make of them into good and bad. But that the wicked were wholly wicked, or the righteous blameless, may not be allowed of these rulers any more than of the kings and princes in other states with whom history is better acquainted.

At length the kingdom of Israel was to maintain against the overwhelming pressure to which it was subjected. The Assyrian monarchies bore down upon it from the East. From the southwest came up the Egyptian armies of conquest. Out of Macedonia the son of Philip came, with his conquering arms. Finally, Rome arose with her eagles and overshadowed all.

With the extinction of Jewish nation-

OFFICIAL MANNERS OF THE HEBREWS.—NAAMAN BEFORE THE PROPHET.

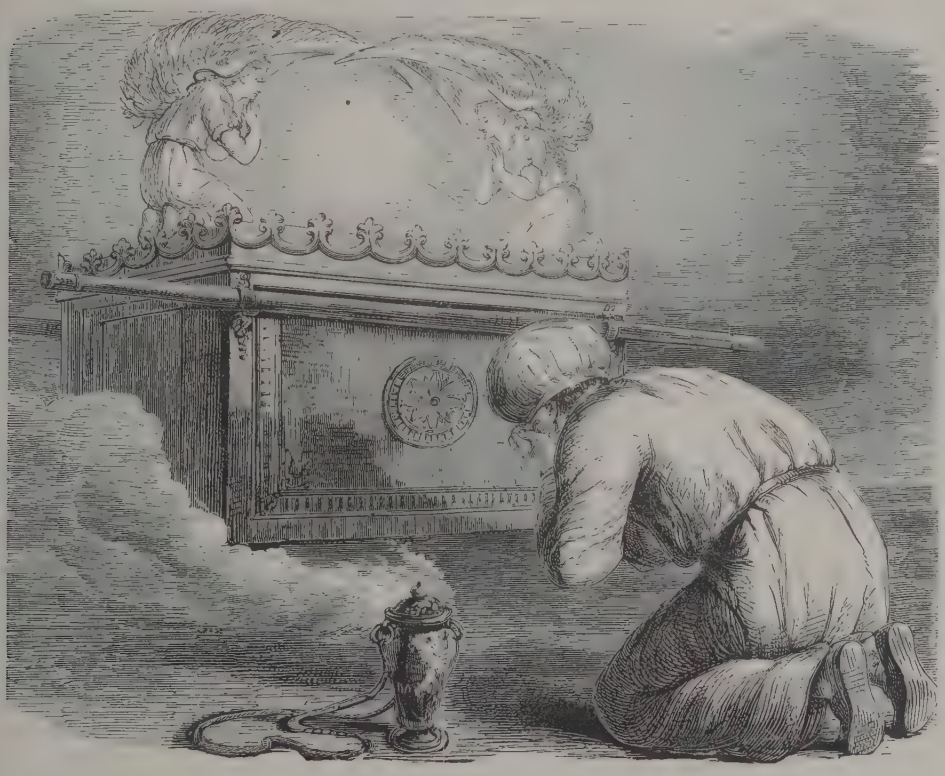
extinguished, and finally the kingdom of Judah. Deplorable was that state which supervened between the end of the captivity and the beginning of the ascendency of Rome. Obscure and bloody are the annals of Israel in these ages. The narrative is redeemed with only occasional touches of worthy ambition and heroic sacrifice. The national spirit demanded independent existence. This it was impossible for the Hebrew state

State of Israelites after the overthrow of monarchy.

ality the country, under Roman rule, was divided into petty tetrarchies. In the midst of these the ancient priesthood reässerted itself, and became really the governing power. It was with this that Rome had to contend during the perpetually recurring wars of rebellion which rent and distracted the Judæan province. The glimpses which we catch of the civil life of the Jewish people in the first years of our era show the recovered Sanhedrin

The tetrarchies of Judæa become a Roman provincia.

in full authority over the Jewish population, and greatly deferred to by the Roman officers. This state of affairs continued with varying fortunes to the epoch of Vespasian and Titus, when Israel as a nation finally became Israel a scattered people. Even the priesthood was never able to recover itself except under the shadow and protection of other governments in foreign lands.



HIGH PRIEST, ARK, AND CHERUBIM.

The basis of the legislation of the Hebrew people lies deep in the primitive traditions of the race. We may not discover in what measure the Decalogue was gathered from antecedent rules and principles long prevalent among the Hebrew tribes. The principle of monotheism as an article of the national faith had certainly prevailed among the Semites for several centuries. The law against idolatry followed from this as a necessary deduction, and this also had been proclaimed as early at least as the age of Abraham. The laws against murder and theft had been recognized by the Semitic race in common with the other primitive races from the earliest epoch of tribal and national existence. The social and domestic laws are partly common to all the peoples of antiquity, and partly deducible from the Hebrews in particular. The code, as a whole, covers the leading principles of human conduct, extending in part to the religious and in part to the secular relations and duties of life.

Derivation of the Decalogue.

It was in the giving of the Decalogue

as a fundamental constitution to ancient Israel that the recognition of Jehovah as the one and only king and ruler of his people was enunciated. Here was that peculiar combination of earthly and divine relationships upon which, as we have seen, the nationality of the Hebrew race was planted. Moses was called the lawgiver of the people; but he was not at any time represented as the originator of the laws in such sense as Solon and Lycurgus were the authors of their respective codes. The Hebrew leader was regarded as the receiver and transmitter of the statutes of Jehovah, the true King of Israel. The statutes thus came to the Hebrews in the desert under a sanction from on high, most solemn and glorious. The stone-written constitutions which Moses brought from the mountain of solitude were deposited in the ark, and became the very central fact of nationality, embodying both the fundamental principles of government and the covenant between the people and the invisible King.

The invisible King; the state founded on the law.

From the Decalogue proceeded all the other statutes of the Israelitish nation. The Commandments were a constitution, whereon much varied legislation was founded. In the last four books of the Pentateuch we have an ample account of the religious and civil statutes of the Hebrews. One division of these laws appertained to the priests. These had their rules of conduct for themselves and for the administration of the national religion. All parts of the ceremonial were elaborated to the smallest particulars and details, so that the religious life was completely and rationally organized.

Minor statutes derived from the constitution of Israel.

The civil statutes were less ample. There were many laws, but these seemed to have been given forth as if to meet special cases rather than as the parts of a system. The question of homicide was presented in many, but not all, of its aspects. There was one law for murder, and another for accidental killing; one law for the killing of a master, another for the slaying of a servant. Servitude was recognized, and the principles of bondage, and of the means by which it might be terminated, were elaborated with much nicety. Then came the statutes for property, including regulations for its recovery and defense. Felonies and misdemeanors were treated, but not with fullness. Punishments were provided, extending from formal execution at the hands of a blood-avenger, down to small penance and other trifling methods of release from the consequences of wrong-doing.

Special character of the Hebrew legislation.

In considering this legislation we may note two circumstances of a remarkable character. The first is the absence in the Jewish statutes of the distinction between *crime* and *sin*. The one was the other, and the other was that. We are surprised to find better provision made for the escape of a murderer from the legal consequences of his guilt than for the rescue of the sinner who only gathered sticks on the Sabbath day or derided his father. It may be doubted whether there was in the primitive Hebrew mind any distinction between that crime, which is a violation of the laws of the state, and the sin which was done against Jehovah. To the Hebrew the one offense was even as the other.

Failure of the law to discriminate between crime and sin.

The explanation of what appears to the developed mind of modern times as a confusion of crime and sin and vice in the laws of Israel, may easily be found by recurring to the constitution of the

people and its origin. Jehovah was king. He was the supreme head of both the religious and the secular life of the people. To violate his laws, therefore, was *crime*, in whatever form the violation might occur. Whether the offense were the taking of human life, the theft of property, blasphemy, adultery, Sabbath-breaking, reviling a father, removing a landmark, or boiling kid's flesh in the milk of its mother, in any and every case the offense was one; for it was done against the will and statute of the King.

The second peculiarity of the Jewish legislation is the existence of the *lex talionis* as its bottom principle. It was in all parts a law of requital, of recompense, of avengement on the violator of the statute. The principle of retaliation appears with little concealment in every part. Given a certain wrong, and the question was to find the rectification of that wrong by the law of retaliation and recompense; or, if that should fail, by the law of avengement. It is in the nature of many crimes and misdemeanors that they can not be well requited in kind; but if the requital in kind were possible, then that, and not some other punishment, was the thing demanded of the statute of Israel.

Prevalence of lex talionis in Hebrew laws.

GIRL WITH WINNOWING SIEVE.
Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

In this respect Semitic law was the same in spirit, and virtually the same in letter, as that of other primitive and half-barbarous peoples. There is a deep-seated instinct in mankind in favor of the law and principle of requital. The first impulse of the uninstructed, unenlightened man is to rectify offenses by returning to the offender a measure of conduct like his own. If he violates the law of property, he shall restore and be fined in kind. If he does an act of violence against the person or life of his fellowman, that deed shall be requited with another like itself. The principle broadly appeared in the Israelitish statutes under such phrases as "a life for a life," "an eye for an eye," "a tooth for a tooth," and so on through the whole catalogue of crimes and misdemeanors.

Universality of requital among barbarous peoples.

The Hebrew statute went on to provide the measure and degree of this retaliatory punishment for crime. Generally the *lex talionis* required an excess in punishment over and above the measure of the wrong. Theft must be made

Lex talionis demands an overplus of repayment.

good by a restoration fourfold. In capital crime the punishment must cease with the destruction of the criminal's life—that in the nature of things. But if the crime involved some of the more flagrant sins, such as blasphemy, the visitation of punitive vengeance might extend to the family of the criminal, and even to the destruction of his property and name.

SHEPHERD WITH CLUB AND STAFF.
Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

In considering the ethnic life of a people all of its elements must, in the nature of the case, be found to be ultimately consistent with one another. It is even as the life of the individual, though more complex and intricate. The individual life displays qualities and modes of action that to the superficial observer may appear contradictory, inconsistent, irreconcilable, and, indeed, impossible, as proceeding from a will which in its nature is one. But a profounder analysis will always show the ultimate reconcilability and consistency of all parts and attributes of a given human life. And this is true of the tribal and national life as well.

Final consistency of all elements in ethnic life.

The legislation of the Hebrews was in perfect accord with the other qualities and activities of the race. Beginning with the food supply of the people, their language and linguistic institutions, their laws of sexual union and domestic condition, their technology and arts, their science and methods of intercourse, and so on up to the constitution, laws, and religion of the state, we shall find the whole to constitute a unit so complete as to correspond to the personality of the individual. The Hebrew law, with its rigor, its fixedness, its confusion of crime and sin, its *lex talionis*, and its want of classification, was but a part of the whole life of the people; the other parts were a rigid and inflexible language, an austere religion, an inartistic spirit, pride of ancestral descent, warlike passion, and a denial of all merit in the manners, customs, usages, and religions of other peoples.

Hebrew legislation accords with other race characteristics.

The Hebrew laws were not produced by processes of legislation, but were proclaimed as edicts of absolute authority. There was no recognition of a right of

lawmaking among the people. The concept of the right of the people to produce their own laws had not yet risen upon mankind. In Asia that concept has not appeared to the present day. It remained for Europe to know the beginnings and first tentative experiments in democracy and popular government. Even Europe has not permitted the free growth and demonstration of the right of man to govern himself according to his own estimate of his interests and welfare. In the New World such experimentation, though measurably successful, has not yet ended in a social calculus—not yet reached an expression, the terms of which may not be disputed or turned into double-meaning equations.

No lawmaking right recognized in the people.

Of this evolution of civil government under laws and constitutions made by the people, the Oriental races knew nothing. The Hebrews were not the race to take up the principle of democracy and give it organic expression. It should not be thought, however, that the legislation of the theocracy did not in any measure recognize the rights of the people. That were far from true. The careful reader can discover in the laws of the Hebrew state many principles arisings from usage, consent, and precedence—such principles as constitute the essence of the common law of England. The lawgivers of the theocratic age readily selected such usages in the formation of their codes, and gave them the sanction of religious authority.

Traces of a common law among the Hebrews.

There was much of common sense and practical value in the rules of conduct, property laws, and social regulations among this people. Some of the legislation was unique and original. The peculiar arrangement by which the lands were assigned to the occupants under a kind of national lease subserved an admiral purpose in the economy of the state. The agrarian troubles to which nearly all the other nations of antiquity were subject, and which frequently led to civil wars and revolutions, were unknown in Israel. There never was a happier balance between feudal absolutism in the ownership of land and socialistic ownership than was the fifty-year tenure recognized by the Jewish constitution. It were not impossible to carry such a system into modern times, and to make it applicable in communities removed by three thousand years from the time of its institution.

Practical value of the laws; the land system.

Another striking feature of the Hebrew statutes was that under which cities of refuge were established for criminals. The Jewish law not only permitted a kinsman to avenge the wrong done to one of his own blood, but required him to take such office upon himself. He must personally follow the criminal and destroy him in turn. The pursuer might not forgive the homicide and let the fugitive escape. On the contrary, he must fall upon him under the sanction of the law and put him to death. At the same time, however, the law favored the fugitive by providing for him certain towns into which he might flee, and thereby laying hold of an altar be safe from pursuit. At the altar the national religion held its shield above him.

Cities of refuge established for homicides.

It would not appear that the primitive Hebrew legislation was improved and modified by succeeding generations. The statutes dated for the most part to the early ages of the theocracy. It can hardly be said that the constitution ever recognized change or im-

Want of improvement in Hebrew legislation.

provement. Nothing of Semitic origin provides for its own amendment. This was the weakness of Israel's code. The establishment of the judgeship, and even of the monarchy, could hardly be said to be statutory; for neither the government. There was an executive, and also a judiciary. Both offices under the theocracy belonged to the priesthood, and the judiciary to that body always.

A judicial proceeding in Israel was a

HOMICIDE FLYING TO A CITY OF REFUGE.

one nor the other was contemplated at the beginning. Lawyers, as such, were as unknown as legislators in Israel. There never was any secular assembly of the people or of their representatives called for the purpose of altering or amending the legislation of the state. There was no legislative branch to the religious inquest rather than a legal inquiry. There were those who were skilled in the exposition of Hebrew law; but all such lore was retrospective and religious. The question was ever to determine how a given matter had stood in the primitive legislation; how it had

Inadaptability of the laws to the changing order of society.

been regarded under the theocracy, and possibly what view the prophets took of the issue presented. The weakness of the whole system of legislation was, as we have said, its inadaptability to the ever-changing order of society. The Judaic system in every part resisted the law of evolution and progress. It was the essence of the system to reach an established estate from which there should be no departure or divergence. The standards fixed by the theocracy were to remain forever as the invariable units of measure alike for the religious, the ethical, the civil, the social, and even the personal, life of the Jewish people. The Hebrew state was founded on theocratic principles.

CHAPTER CX.—RELIGION.

IN the course of this inquiry we have had occasion to revert in several parts to the religion of the Hebrews, and its influence in the body politic. The religion of the race was the fundamental element in the national character and history. It were perhaps true to say that among no other people of the world has the religious life so completely dominated all other forms of thought and action. The Hebrew tribal life began in a religious instinct and separation, and the career of the race as a nation ended in an unsuccessful effort of the Jews of the first century to maintain in their own country the essentials and solidarity of the national faith. Upon their religion, from first to last, the Hebrews staked their all, and to the present day, when the race has ceased to be a *nation* and remains only in the form of a scattered *people*, it still retains its original faith, and by that means succeeds in maintaining an ethnic isolation which would otherwise end in a few years with disintegration and absorption.

Hebrew life founded on religious instincts.

This religious perseverance belonged aforetime to all the Semitic peoples in common. The quality, however, reached its highest evolution and completeness in the Hebrews. Further on we shall see the same characteristic fully exemplified in the Arabs. For the present we are left to note with some particularity the essential features of that religion which was as the life and spirit of the Hebrew race.

Essentially this religion was monotheism. The religion of Israel acknowledged first of all the existence of one God. As far back as the immigration of Abraham into Canaan this fundamental belief was declared as the first principle of the tribal faith. The name and concept of the God thus chosen were brought from the traditions of the old Chaldæans; but the Hebrews, on their separation and removal to the West, lifted up the name and thought of El to that singular almightiness and unity which were henceforth the attributes of his character. Around this central concept of the oneness of the deity all the subsequent doctrines and usages of the national religion became organic and symmetrical. God was one — not many — and upon this faith Hebrew life was founded.

Monotheism the essential of Semetic faith.

Within the present century a great controversy has arisen among scholars, theologians, historians, and critics as to whether or not monotheism as a principle of religious belief has been peculiar to the Semitic race. In 1859 M. Ernest Renan published his *Considerations concerning the General Character of the Semitic Peoples, and in particular concerning their Tendency to Monotheism*. In that he maintained that monotheistic belief was general among the Semites, and only intensified in the case of the Hebrews and the Arabs. Speaking of the general traits of the Semitic peoples he says:

Renan's generalization respecting monotheism of the Semites.

TEACHING IN THE SYNAGOGUE.

"Their character is religious rather than political, and the mainspring of their religion is the conception of the unity of God. Their religious phraseology is simple, and free from mythological elements. Their religious feelings are strong, exclusive, intolerant, and sustained by a fervor which finds its peculiar expression in prophetic visions. Compared to the Aryan nations they are found deficient in scientific and philosophical originality. Their poetry is chiefly subjective, or lyrical, and we look in vain among their poets for excellence in epic and dramatic compositions. Painting and the plastic arts have never arrived at a higher than the decorative stage. Their political life has remained patriarchic and despotic, and their inability to organize on a large scale has deprived them of the means of military success. Perhaps the most general feature of their character is a negative one —their inability to perceive the general and the abstract, whether in thought, language, religion, poetry, or politics; and on the other hand a strong attraction toward the individual and personal

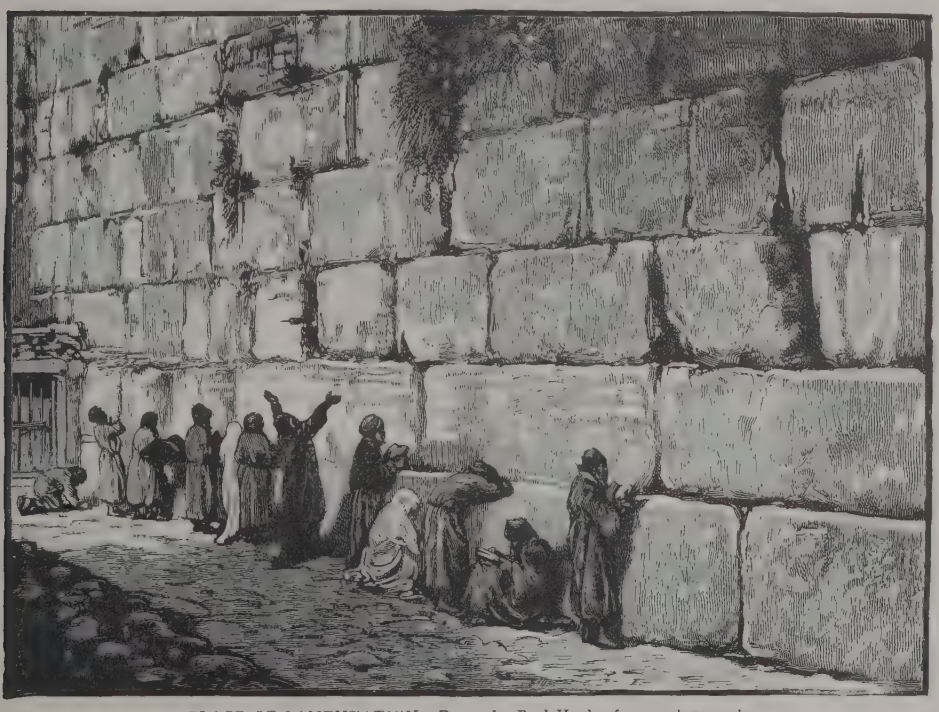
which makes them monotheistic in religion, lyrical in poetry, monarchical in politics, abrupt in style, and unable for speculative thought."

In this strong sketch of the character of the Semitic peoples, we note the belief of the author that monotheism as a form of religious faith and doctrine was *instinctive* in the given race—that that race differed from all others in the possession of this instinct. Others were polytheistic; but these believed in the unity and personality of God as the first concepts of religion. In the treatise referred to the author proceeds to show that the three great monotheistic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism—have all arisen from a Semitic source. This is true. Nor has any other form of prevailing religious thought among the modern nations had a different origin. Among civilized peoples polytheism has given away. Nowhere in Europe or the New World, where the civilized life is prevalent, are people any longer found who believe in the existence of many gods. The existence among all these of a monotheistic faith must be attributed to a Semitic origin.

Was the belief instinctive in the race?

Other great thinkers have taken a different view from that of M. Renan. The study of the mythology of the Aryan nations has led investigators not a few to the belief that the first concepts of the peoples of these races also were monotheistic. Max Müller, perhaps more than any other, has urged this view upon the attention of English-speaking people. His study of the Vedas and general investigation of the laws and phenomena

Contrary opinion; views of Max Müller.



PLACE OF LAMENTATION.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

of linguistic change has led him to conclude that the primitive inhabitants of India, as well as those of Persia and Greece and Rome, believed *originally* in a single Father of Heaven, beneath whom all of the other powers of nature were set in subordination.

No tradition of god-unity among the Aryans.

Certainly there is much force in the reasoning with which this view of primeval theology is upheld; but the conclusion, nevertheless, seems strained. We might expect, notwithstanding all the deceptions and transformations of language, that if the first peoples of India and Greece and Rome and Northern Europe had been believers in the unity of the godhead, traditions at least of such belief would have perpetuated themselves into the historical epoch; but no such traditions have existed. In certain parts of the mythological lore of antiquity expressions are found as if the authors had believed in one God, not many. Indra is celebrated in the Vedas as being one; but the instances of the use of such language are so rare, and the prevalence of polytheistic phraseology so universal, as to forbid the deductions of those who would establish an original Aryan monotheism.

Universality of monotheistic belief among Semites.

On the other hand, whenever we touch the literature or traditions of a Semitic people, we immediately note the unmistakable traces of a belief in the existence of a single Supreme Being. Everywhere among these races there is an outcry of monotheism, and a denunciation of polytheistic beliefs and practices. Polytheism as a theory, and idolatry as a fact, are equally condemned by the lawmakers, philosophers, and bards of the Semitic race. True it is that among the tribes and nations of Semitic descent we find the worship of what would seem to be many gods. Though the nomenclature of the Semitic pantheon is not at all comparable with the profusion and endless array of deities believed in and adored by the primitive Aryan peoples, yet the Semites of antiquity seemed to have a sufficient multiplicity to place them on the same level with other races.

DAGON.

BAÄL.

But this was only in seeming. The Semites of antiquity instead of worshiping many gods, rather worshiped the One under *many names*. There is a vast difference between assigning to the one God many names and the division of the deity into many gods. It is more than probable that the deity represented among the Canaanitish nations by the names of Baäl, Dagon, Nebo, Moloch, Rimmon, Ashtaroth, Nergal, etc., was one in the original concept of the ancestors of that race. These names appear to have represented certain attributes of deity, which attributes might all proceed from one God—not from many. It is in this light that the polytheistic phraseology of the Chaldees, Assyrians, and Babylonians is, for the most part, to be interpreted.

True signification of Semitic polytheism.

Very different from this, however, was the polytheism of the Hindus, Greeks, and Romans. Here the different powers of nature were not regarded as referable to a single source of activity

and will, but to many sources. There were independent powers in the heavens, on the earth, and in the sea. These concepts did not answer to the attributes of one supreme power, but to many powers scattered afar, and frequently at war the one with the other. Certainly there was a subordination in the hierarchy of the gods. Some were greater and some less. The greatest of all was in a measure supreme; but he was over the rest in the sense that a great king is over smaller kings and princes.

Meaning of polytheism among the Greeks and Romans.

The idolatry into which the Hebrew peoples fell once and again was not properly a degeneration into polytheism. It was either the substitution of the false *name* for the true, as, for instance, Moloch or Rimmon for Jehovah, or it was the worship of an *image* or *likeness* of God. Both of these things were detestable to the higher religious sense of the Hebrews. It was against their severe orthodoxy. With them, in their best estate, Elohim must be worshiped with the *name* of Jehovah. He was Jehovah-El, the God of his people. To substitute another name was idolatrous; but it was hardly polytheistic.

Character and import of the Hebrew idolatries.

HEBREW IDOLATRY.—Sacrificing to the Egyptian Apis.

It was not lawful, in the second place, to worship Jehovah under the guise of any *image* or *similitude*. This form of adoration had been forbidden from the first. Doubtless there were instances of polytheistic degeneration among the Hebraic peoples and the Semites gener-

ally; but errancy in the religion of the race generally ran in one of the two directions indicated above; that is, the Hebraic heretic worshiped the deity under some other name than that which had brought victory, nationality, and peace to his people; or the idolater set up some image or similitude of Elohim,

DESTROYING THE HOUSES OF BAÄL.

thus reducing him to the rank of a pagan god.

On the whole, there seems to be good ground for the allegation that monotheism was an original instinct in the Semitic race. In this respect stood the superiority of that race over the other great families of mankind. In no other particular did the peoples of Semitic descent rival, or even approach, the Aryan races. Of a certainty that concept of nature and of the powers above nature which gives to the first the unity of *design*, and to the second unity of *will*, is vastly more rational and sublime than is that view of nature which regards her as a concourse of chaotic elements and the expression of conflicting wills and purposes.

Monotheism appears to have been instinctive in the race.

The gradual extinction of polytheistic beliefs throughout the civilized world points clearly to the conclusion that such beliefs belong to the infancy of the race and the immaturity of reason. The triumph of monotheism over the beliefs referred to shows that it marks a superior stage in the human evolution. It may be that the anthropomorphic notion of mankind to the effect that the deity resides *over* and *beyond* and *without* the universe, working thereon as if with his hands, and making, manwise, both the substance and the forms of all things that are, must in its turn give away to a

Polytheism belongs to the infancy of mankind.

more philosophical concept of universal nature and of the principles by which it is controlled; but this question does not affect the relative superiority of monotheism as a belief over the polytheistic conceits of the ancient peoples.

It would appear to have been the peculiar part of the Semitic race, and especially of the Hebraic division of that race, to keep and promulgate the doctrine of monotheism to the nations. It was this thought upon which not only

Destiny of Hebrews to promulgate monotheism.

LEVITE SOUNDING THE TRUMPET.

their religious policy, but their national existence as well, was founded. Generally, among the peoples will be found certain ideas which are fundamental to the given ethnic development. One people contributes one idea or thought, and another another thought, to the general civilization of mankind. Out of Mesopotamia came the race which more than all others enunciated and maintained the belief in one God as the supreme ruler of nature and of man. All that the Hebrews were, all that they became in antiquity, and all that they have subsequently been in their scattered condition among the other nations, has been most largely the result of the fundamental doctrine of the national faith.

From the one idea of the singleness and unity of God, all the rest of the Hebraic concept and formula of religion was developed. An elaborate ceremonial was produced and forms instituted for the worship and propitiation of Jehovah-Elohim. A priesthood was established most stern and singular. A theory was formed of the condition and estate of man; of his sinfulness; of his offending relation before the bar of divine justice, and of the necessity of a reconciliation by means of sacrifice. This was the leading visible feature of the national ceremonial. The system of offering was so arranged as to make the interests of the priesthood coïncident with a large and punctual performance of the sacrifices. The House of Levi was dependent to a degree for its support upon the sacrificial offerings of the people. Of these offerings the larger part went to the priests. The men of Levi had no lands. They were distributed among the other tribes, and settled upon them as the wards of the people. The situation was such as not to permit the priests to neglect or allow the people to neglect the punctual and ample delivery of gifts for the sacrifices.

Hebraic system arose from a monotheistic stem.

But the fundamental idea in the offerings which were heaped up around the altars of Jehovah was the reconciliation of God to the people. The thought was that of atonement, or at-onement, as the

expositors have explained the word; an at-onement between Jehovah and the sinful race who had nominally accepted him as their king, but was evermore deviating from rectitude, evermore breaking the laws of truth and righteousness.

Notion of reconciliation and at-onement.

It belongs to the special history of religions to elaborate the particulars of the Judaic system of faith and practice. We are here concerned only with its ethnical results. The Hebrews became a profoundly religious nation—according to the standards of the age. It is clear that the national faith in its substance and expression became a ceremonial and form rather than a living principle of moral and spiritual life. The Hebrew of the theocracy and the kingdom regarded the act of worship as consisting in the letter of the performance.

It were difficult to find in the epoch of the Hebrew ascendency the evidences of a profound religious life among the people. They did the letter of the statute; but it were hard to discover the traces of the spirit. There was literality, but little spirituality—a vast exhibition, but small exemplification of an inner religious life. The Mosaic system of faith became crystallized in the usages of the race, firmly set in a mold and fashion from which there was no deviation. With the progress of the people there appeared what always comes to pass under like conditions, a departure between the thought and life of the nation on the one side, and its unyielding ceremonial on the other. It is the peculiarity of religious systems to become petrified in forms, usages, statutes, ceremonials, and, worst of all,

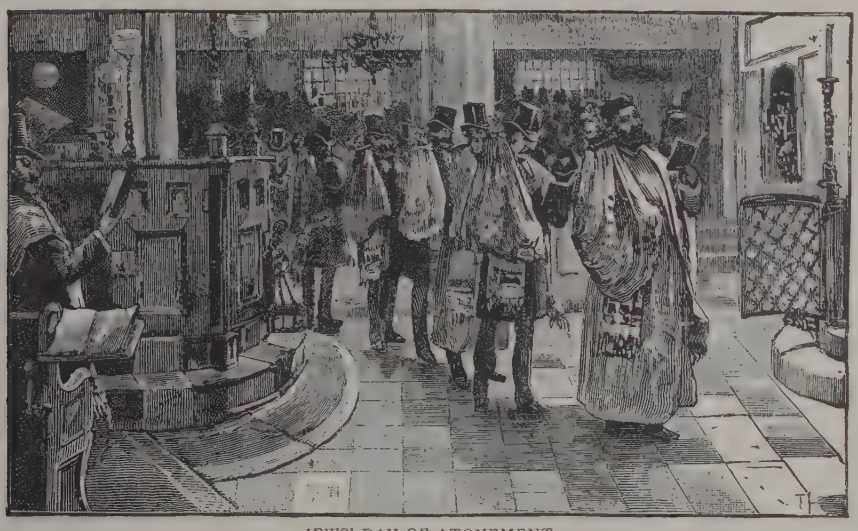
Religious life of Hebrews becomes a ceremonial.

SACRIFICING TO JEHOVAH.

dogmas, from which there is no departure, no appeal; in which there is no allowance for improvement and adaptation to the ever-expanding and varying thought of the given race.

Thus it was in Israel. Preëminently was it true of the Hebrew race that their religion became so fixed and bounded that there was in it neither principle nor opportunity of reform. Reform, however, was precisely the condition which was necessary to perpetuity. Judaism survived in the period succeeding the decline of the Hebrew state like a dead but undecaying tree. Vainly did the later prophets and the men of reform, the national heroes such as the Maccabees, strive to revivify and reëstablish the wasted energies of the national religion.

Judaism left no place for reform.



JEWS' DAY OF ATONEMENT.

For ages together Israel had expected a Deliverer. The prophets had voiced the popular expectation of one who should come and restore the kingdom to its pristine energy and power. Public opinion and priestly lore had coïncided in delineating the character of the expected leader and redeemer of the people. He was to be a king and ruler and conqueror. Israel was to be reëstablished as a nation. She should subordinate the surrounding nations and become the one great kingdom of the earth. Of that kingdom there should be no end. As the state sank lower and lower, expectation became more and more intense. When Judæa was made a Roman province, though the subjection of Israel was extreme, the outlook for the apparition of the promised king and restorer was more eager than ever. The day of redemption was believed to be at hand.

Expectation and prediction of a Deliverer.

Amid all the excitement attendant upon the existence and prevalence of such a belief, there was no expectation of reform. The Sanhedrin did not desire either to reform itself or to be reformed by some agency other than its own. The ceremonies of the national religion continued to be performed as of old. The

The priests plant themselves on the Mosaic system.

priesthood unanimously declared that they had Moses and the prophets. Nothing was further from the public thought than the idea of a regeneration of the Mosaic system by the substitution of a different faith for the one which they had received from the fathers. There was no thought of an insurrection and a new departure—no anticipation that the expected king was to be other than a temporal prince and conqueror.

It were long to relate the details of that condition which was present in Jewry at the epoch of the Christ. Suffice it to say that in the hamlet of Bethlehem a child was born; that he was presently taken by his parents, first into Egypt, and afterwards to their home in Nazareth, where he grew up to manhood; that about the age of thirty he became a public teacher, traveling from place to place, discoursing with the people, and announcing himself as the expected King of the Jews.

Apparition of the Christ; his ministry.

The authorities gave some heed to the new prophet, but found him to answer in nothing to the public expectation of the deliverer. Though a popular party gathered about him, the rulers and priests were unanimous in rejecting him as an impostor. For about three years he continued his ministry, sometimes persuasively, sometimes aggressively, with respect to the national faith. He said that he was come to fulfill the law and the prophets; that it was not his mission to destroy, but rather to make complete. Then the theme was changed, and the teachings and traditions of Israel were handled as if by an iconoclast. The sayings and apothegms of the most famous and revered prophets and sages of the race were quoted in public discourse and denounced as false in reason and righteousness. Instead thereof, new principles and new aphorisms of religion, wholly contradictory of those established in the national acceptance and heart, were propounded and held up as the basis of the system of faith by which Israel was to be redeemed from bondage and made whole from her wounds and humiliation.

The new teacher declared that the kingdom of deliverance which he was about to establish was not a kingdom at all in the sense in which the priests and leaders of Israel had anticipated his coming. On the contrary, the new kingdom was to be a kingdom of belief and faith and regeneration for the spirit of man, having no respect to rule and authority and temporal power. Indeed, the long existing Mosaic order was to be done away! Priests and sacrifices were to cease! The Sanhedrin itself was to exist no longer! All things were to be made new. There was to be no ruler except Jehovah himself; no mediator but him, the Christ; no more smoke of sacrifice; no more ceremonial and offering of beasts and birds and first fruits of the field; no more altar with its fires; no more Holy Place with the dividing curtain; in fact, no more *existence* of that vast Levitical system which had been to all seeming the bone and nerve and marrow and blood of the national life for a thousand years!

His exposition of the new kingdom.

The effect of these declarations could easily be seen. The ministry of the new teacher was regarded as an insurrection. It was looked upon by the Sanhedrin as anything else than the redemption of Israel. To them it was anarchy. To the high priest the man of Nazareth seemed poorer and more contemptible than a king of shreds and patches. The ecclesiarchy of Jerusalem was at once aroused against him. Should he succeed,

Alarm of the ecclesiarchy; the Christ put to death.

the representatives of the priesthood, and the priesthood itself, must pass away. The breach widened. Real causes of antagonism between the old teaching and the new were put aside, and new causes invented which might be made efficient as an inducement to the Roman government to put down the King of the Jews. A case was made out of trivialities. The Christ had said certain things that were treasonable against Rome. We, the Sanhedrin, are the friends of Rome; but this disturber out of Galilee would overthrow the rule of Cæsar in all Judæa. The issue came, first, to mobocracy, and then to a factitious trial and condemnation of the Christ to death. The execution followed, and the priesthood supposed that the revolution was extinguished.

Another destiny, however, had been reserved for this seemingly insignificant religious revolt and heresy. The doctrines of the Christ took strong hold upon a few minds, and the insurrection thus begun in the heart of Judaism, instead of being extinguished, began to flame up, not only in the city, but in other Judæan towns. No effort of the Jewish hierarchy could prevail to check the reformatory delusion. Preachers of the new doctrines, followers of the new King of Israel, began to go abroad, proclaiming the redemption of all peoples through the merits of the very death of him whom Old Israel had expected to reign as a king and conqueror! Soon the limits of the countries inhabited by the Semitic peoples were passed, and men of the Aryan race began to hear, in Greece and Macedonia and Rome, the promulgation of the new faith.

His doctrines germinate and begin to flourish.

Thus from a truly Semitic source did Christianity arise and begin to spread among the nations. The new religion, though gaining for the time a foothold among the Semites, soon lost its vantage in the countries of its origin, and began to flourish only among the mythologies of a distant and alien paganism. In Judæa the Levitical hierarchy seemingly triumphed. The priesthood, in a period of about forty years, almost forgot the episode of the Galilean. The Jews, as a people, still continued to expect a deliverance from the thraldom of Rome; but none came. Many said lo, here, and lo, there; and there were successive insurrections and rebellions, until at length Rome wearied of the ever-insurgent Jews, and bore down upon the petty province in exterminating wrath. Jerusalem was besieged and taken. Not only Hebrew nationality, but the hope of it was extinguished in blood and fire and famine. Meanwhile, Christianity

New system passes from Semitic to Aryan ground.

TALMUDIST JEW.
From *Magazine of Art.*

afar off crept up like a vine in Rome and began to twine around the imperial porches. The Cæsar's household was infected. The old gods began to shiver in the pantheon. In the midst of persecution and unnumbered griefs the Christians held on their way in palace or catacomb, teaching and proclaiming the mysteries and triumphs of the new faith.

JEWISH MONEY CHANGER.
Drawn by C. Rudolf Huber, for *Magazine of Art.*

With the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, Hebraic nationality passed away.

Persistency of Hebrew race appears.

Now it was, however, that the ethnic persistency of the race began to show itself in full force. Other peoples, overcome by war and conquest, had ceased to exist; but not so the Jews. They went forth among the nations in all grades of despair, from vagabondage and slavery to the respectable conditions of teachers and scribes. But they did not cease to be Hebrews. They did not even abandon their expectation of a recovery of their own land. Through the vicissitudes of more than eighteen centuries this strangely persistent people has continued to look for some revolution in human affairs by which Palestine should once more be repossessed by the descendants of Abraham, and be ruled by the promised sovereign of whose kingdom there should be no end.

It were impossible within the limits of the present work to give a historical narrative of the dispersion and wanderings of the Jews among the nations. Colonies of them soon became established around nearly all the coasts of the Mediterranean. The half-barbarian kingdoms of Europe during the Dark Ages had always a considerable percentage of Jewish population. Instead of perishing by absorption among the nations, they survived. Instead of mingling with other peoples, they preserved their ethnic purity. Instead of yielding to the now triumphant Christianity, which in union with

Dispersion and wanderings of the race.

the Roman empire had taken possession of all Europe and the greater part of Northern Africa, the scattered Hebrews held close to the tenets, and as much as possible to the practices and ceremonial of their ancient faith.

Animosity of barbarian and modern Europe.

This attitude brought upon the race the overwhelming prejudice and pressure of barbarian Europe. To the half-savage Christian warriors of the earlier Middle Ages the Jew was an object of detestation, more abhorred and hateful than the Islamite Turk. The student of history knows too well the story of the awful atrocities which, beginning from the age of the Crusades and continuing even to the present day, have been visited upon the Semitic race throughout all the coasts of Europe. This people has been the accepted foil and banter for the prejudice, hatred, ignorance, and cruelty of every great state, kingdom, and principality which has accepted the Christian religion, either from a Roman or a Grecian source, from the overthrow of the Western empire, aye, from the days of Domitian and Trajan to the days of Alexander the Third and the Third Hohenzollern!

What the Hebrew race has become under hardship.

But persecution has not prevailed. We have in the case of the Hebrews the most striking example in all history of a people without a country. The discipline to which the Jews have been subjected through these centuries of hardship has wrought them into one of the most persistent and invariable types of the human race. The exigencies of their career, since the days of the Crusades, have made them into merchants, bankers, and money changers. Only in exceptional cases have the energies of the Hebrew carried him outside of the pale of the commercial and financial life. The exceptions, however, have been sufficient to emphasize his abilities in every field of modern activity in which he has been a free competitor.

Aspects and developments of modern Hebrew life.

The professions of law and letters and medicine have drawn a considerable number of Jews from the more common vocations of the race into competition with the lawyers, scholars, and physicians of other bloods. In some instances the Hebrew has shown a remarkable aptitude for political life and statesmanship. Art also has received some of its most elegant touches from the brushes and chisels of Jewish masters. The benevolent enterprises of the world have in like manner been strongly promoted by the patronage of Hebrews in every country wherein they have been freely permitted to follow a rational and generous development. The peculiar isolation of the race among the modern nations has limited the philanthropic enterprises of the Jews in large measure to their own kind. It is one of the principles of Jewish polity and ethics throughout the world that no one of Hebrew birth shall suffer the curses of ignorance and pauperism; that no one of the Abrahamic household shall in old age fall into penury and helplessness; that no one through accident or misfortune shall come to want and despair and death. The Hebrew charitable institutions in the United States are among the finest in the land. They are administered with as much wisdom as generosity; and there is, perhaps, no other people who suffer so little of the hardships of misfortune, want, and friendlessness as do the unfortunates of Jewish birth in our country.

It were hard to say how much of the segregation, clannishness, and ethnic

isolation of the Hebrews in a country like our own should be attributed to the preferences of the Jews themselves, and how much on the other hand ought to be charged to the prejudices of the people of other races. Undoubtedly both causes have operated to produce

Sources of the isolation of the Hebrew race.

able to two, and only two, considerations. These are religious prejudice and social avoidance. It would seem that the religion of the Israelite ought no more to interpose between him and his fellow-man than in the case of diversity of opinion among others who are not Hebrews. Modern times, with their

MODERN JEWISH MARRIAGE CEREMONY.—Drawn by R. Taylor.

and perpetuate this separation of the race from the peoples among whom their fortunes are cast. Is not this condition of the Hebrews at the present time anomalous, irrational, unwarranted? Are there good grounds for its further continuance? Is not the condition in question the result of mutual prejudice and misunderstanding?

The division of the Hebrews from the other peoples of modern times is traceable to two, and only two, considerations. These are religious prejudice and social avoidance. It would seem that the religion of the Israelite ought no more to interpose between him and his fellow-man than in the case of diversity of opinion among others who are not Hebrews. Modern times, with their enlightenment and progress, hardly any longer permit the obtrusion of a religious prejudice between man and man, between race and race.

The social isolation of the Jews is unreasonable and unjustified by the conditions of the age. This prejudice has its ground and root in the prevailing opinion and practice of the race relative to marriage. If the practice of out-mar-

Out-marriage would blend the race with other peoples.

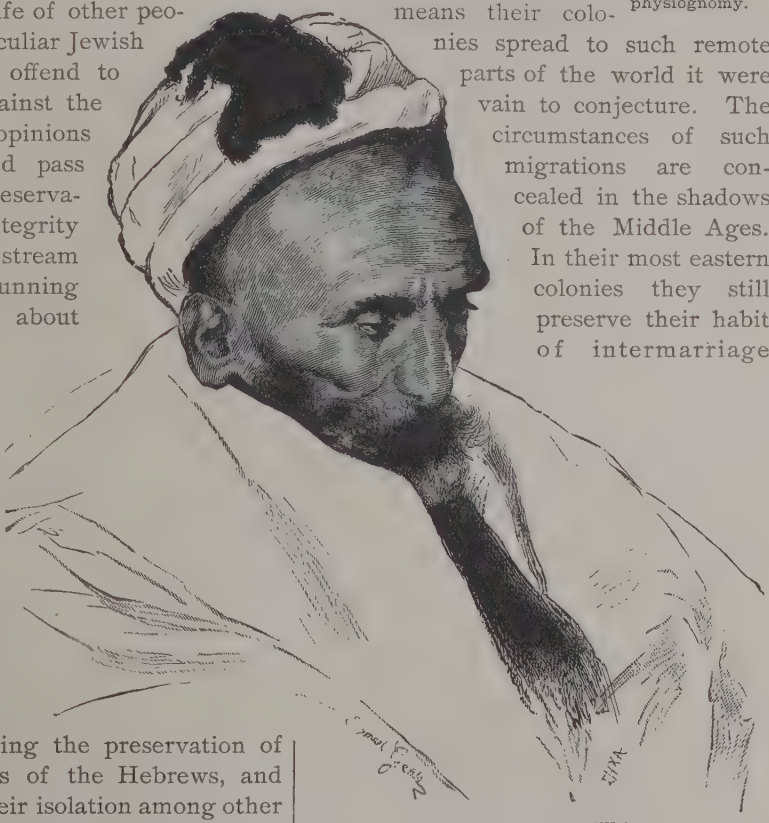
riage were once recognized and adopted by them, the sharp line which divides them socially from the rest of the world would be at once obliterated. If cross-marriage were readily permitted, the distinctive qualities of the Hebrews—personal, intellectual, and industrial—would soon be diffused. A trace of their commercial genius would be sent into the veins and life of other peoples, and the peculiar Jewish customs which offend to some degree against the sentiments and opinions of others would pass away. The preservation of the integrity of the Hebrew stream of ethnic life, running here and there about the coasts, and across the continents and around the islands of the world, would seem to be no longer desirable in the economy and social development of modern civilization.

Notwithstanding the preservation of the peculiarities of the Hebrews, and their isolation among other peoples, they have nevertheless widely departed from a common type among themselves. Certain distinctive features of face and manner still mark and define the race wherever it is found. The Hebrew stock is at present diffused throughout Asia, Europe, and America. The Israelites have assimilated to a considerable degree the physical characteristics of the nations among whom they have long resided—this under the influences of climate and necessary association. But in every country the habit, custom, and aptitudes of the race are discovered.

Wide differentiation of Hebrews among themselves.

Many Jews are found as far to the east as the towns of Cochin and the interior of Malabar. At what time and by what means their colonies spread to such remote parts of the world it were vain to conjecture. The circumstances of such migrations are concealed in the shadows of the Middle Ages. In their most eastern colonies they still preserve their habit of intermarriage with people of their own race and of seclusion by sympathy and blood from those around them. Pritchard, on the authority of Duhalde, declares that the Jews of China are as distinct within their own communities as those of Western Europe, or of any part of the world.

Outposts of the race; varying physiognomy.



JEW OF PARMA—TYPE.
Drawn by Gentz.

Great, however, are the dissimilarities

of person and physiognomy which are noted in the race in the extreme situations of its dispersion. In the north of

HUNGARIAN JEW—TYPE.
From *Magazine of Art.*—Drawn by E. Loevy.

Europe the Jews are fair, or xanthous, in complexion. In England many are found who have blue eyes and flaxen hair. In some parts of Germany the distinguishing characteristic is the red beard and hair of the Israelites. The Portuguese Jews are very dark-complexioned, while those of India are almost as black as the native Hindus. This is said of those who have long been resident in Hindustan. At Mattacheri, a town of Cochin, a colony of Israelites has been established within the later historical period; and these have not yet taken the complexion of the natives. On the contrary, the people of this colony have preserved the fair complexions of the West, and are known as Jerusalem, or White, Jews.

JEW OF BABYLON—TYPE.
Drawn by Emile Bayard, from a photograph.

In all countries, however, a certain form and expression of the Jewish countenance have been preserved from an-

21 JEW AND JEWESSES OF TANGIER—TYPES.—Drawn by Emile Bayard, from a photograph.

tiquity. The aquiline nose, large and strong, the peculiar—generally heavy—mouth and receding chin, by which a circular rather than straight character has been given to the face; the deep-set eyes, under heavy brows; and generally black beards, are so marked characteristics of the race as to distinguish the people of this blood from the men of other descent in any part of the world.

Points of identity in all; the type.

The Israelites, under the discipline of adversity and the horrors of persecution extending through centuries of time, have become a people preternaturally developed in certain qualities of mind. Their ability to gather money and conduct profitable enterprises under circumstances the most forbidding testifies in unmistakable language to a quality of mind which is clearly the result of hardship and injustice. As the fox in the animal kingdom, weaker in body than the rest and the object of distrust to all, has become differentiated in the direction of wit, adroitness, and capacity to live under conditions of constant danger, so the Jew in the kingdom of humanity has been sharpened and quickened in his perceptions of all things advantageous to himself and his kind. His abilities have been so improved by wrong and cruelty, by the robberies and animosities to which he has been subjected for the greater part of two thousand years, that he not only survives but flourishes and abounds in the midst of hostile conditions which would swallow up one less skillful and shrewd than he in the contention for existence. He is the last and strongest of an ancient and not inglorious race, a man without a *country*, but not without a *name*, among the great actors of the human drama.

The modern Hebrew a residue of adversity.

BOOK XVI.—CANAANITES AND SYRIANS.

CHAPTER CXI.—ANCIENT CANAANITES.

IN the foregoing discussion we have fixed our attention for the most part on the Israelitish family of the Hebraic division of mankind. More generally we have extended the inquiry somewhat to other divisions of the Hebraic branch, and still more generally to the Semitic race. This has been done, as has been already intimated, for the reason of the small divergence and differentiation by which the several types of the Semitic family have been separated the one from the other.

When a feature has once been discovered in the life of the Semites, it may, as a rule, be expected to recur in every division of that race. This is true of the changes that have been effected by geographical removal and of those which have come about from lapse of time. The Semite of antiquity was not strongly distinguished in his ethnic characteristics from the surviving Semite of the present age. The Babylonian was much like the Assyrian. The Assyrian much like the Old, or Joktanian, Arabs. The Chaldee and the Canaanite, the Phœnician and the Jew, the Carthaginian and the Arab, have all borne and preserved their common features from a remote antiquity to the current epoch.

Ethnic features recur uniformly among Semitic races.

For these reasons the discussion of the character, personal and national, of any particular division of this race, may readily be generalized into the discussion of the cognate peoples. Nevertheless, a general view of the Semitic race demands the consideration in turn of its different branches. In the foregoing chapters we have followed the line of Israelitish evolution, and now proceed to consider some of the other branches of the Hebraic race. The reader will not have forgotten that this family constitutes what is known as the Middle division of the Semites, as distinguished

Easiness of generalization in matters relating to Semites.

on the one hand from the Northern, or Aramaic, division, and on the other from the Arabic, or Southern, development of the same original stock.

We are here to follow, as well as we may, the course of that Canaanitish phase of Semitism which *preceded* the immigration of the Abrahamites into Syria. It must be understood that the removal of Semitic tribes from Mesopotamia westward, and their colonization in Canaan and other parts of Syria, did not begin or end with the emigration of the descendants of Terah. The departure of the Abrahamidæ from Ur was only an incident in a general movement which carried in successive waves a large part of the Euphratine populations westward toward the great sea, and scattered them, as if fortuitously, in many regions between Asia Minor and Arabia.

CANAANITISH LANDSCAPE.—Site of Gath.—Drawn by H. A. Harper, from a photograph.

Continuous migrations from Mesopotamia into Syria.

It was thus at a very primitive epoch that the various tribes known to history as the Canaanites were brought into the country afterwards conquered by the

Strong ethnic affinities of Canaanites and Hebrews.

Hebrews. It must be insisted and repeated that the Canaanites and the Hebrews were in strong ethnic affinity. They were all of a common stock. Perhaps the former had come into the country of their choice from a region somewhat further north than that occupied by the ancestors of the latter.

The emigration, however, soon obliterated in the memories and traditions of the Canaanitish tribes and the Abrahamites all knowledge of their common origin and affinities of blood. Such facts were soon forgotten in antiquity. A new migration would bring upon the descendants of an older migration a people who knew nothing of the common ties existing among them. So it was in the case of the incoming of the Hebrews proper into Canaan. They found there their kinsmen in possession of the country; but they knew not it was they; nor did the Canaanites suppose themselves invaded by immigrants of their own race.

In pre-literary ages race descent is soon forgotten.

At what time the primitive tribes of Canaan removed from east to west it were vain to conjecture. It can only be said that in the dawn of tradition they were already in possession of the countries afterwards made famous by the ascendency of the Hebrews. We have information respecting this region and its inhabitants as far back as the time of the campaigns of Kudur-Lagamer, King of Chaldæa. Kudur-Maduk, King of Elam, is said to have made war on the Syrians. This would imply that Syria was already populated, and, if so, by men of the Semitic race. The kings of

Early ethnical and historical connections of Canaanites.

GOING FORTH OF OLD SEMITES FROM MUGHEIR OF THE CHALDEES.

Elam were they who first extended their rule over Lower Mesopotamia, and then continued their conquests westward into Syria. These kings are thought by Duncker to have belonged to the fourth dynasty of Berosus, in which case these early wars against the Syrians must be carried back as far as the year 2000 B. C.

But the existence of people in the west, bordering on the Mediterranean, in such state of progress as to make a war of resistance against the invading armies of Elam and Chaldæa, implies a long antecedent residence in the country. Probably three thousand years before the Christian era the emigrating tribes from Mesopotamia had already traversed Syria and settled in Canaan.

CANAANITE CLAN LIFE.—Road to Jericho.—Drawn by H. A. Harper.

We are not here concerned with historical events, but only with ethnic development. The Canaanites on their immigration from the flat lands of Mesopotamia found themselves amongst the western mountains, in the midst of a changed and ever varying landscape.

New environment of the Canaanitish immigrants.

Here were deep and fertile valleys. There, not far away, was the coast of a limitless sea. Doubtless the native luxuriance, still unabated by the interference of man, lay before these early colonists, seeming to their imaginations as inviting as did the valley of the James to our ancestral Virginians.

Other parts of the country, such as the mountain slopes of Syria, invited to the continuance of the pastoral life with which the emigrants were most familiar. In the valleys, however, there was every suggestion of agriculture and a settled life. Socially, the country favored the tribal development rather than a general government. The Syrian mountains broke up the country, as a whole, into little cantons, separated the one from the other by natural barriers. No broad, central plain existed on which military despotisms like those of Mesopotamia might be established. There was antecedent expectation of variety, clan life, petty tribal kingdoms, and various

Clan life and independence indicated by the conditions.

modes of cultivation; but no opportunity for the creation of a huge despotism such as those of the East. Here independence might be attained, and the pastoral tribes, though becoming sedentary, might each develop on its own line of preference and convenience. It was a situation favorable for the production of striking contrasts of character and activity.

CEDAR-COVERED RIDGE OF LEBANON.

In the next place, the new environment of the Canaanites was of a kind to stimulate the people into unusual energy. Here the burning heats of the Babylonian sun were no longer felt. Here the mountain air, blowing down from the cedar-covered ridges of Lebanon, and the proximity of the sea, insured vigor and longevity. Those tribes that came to the coast would find a situation most favorable for the beginnings of commerce. This coast region was possessed on the south by a race calling themselves Pelishtim, or, in the later tongue, Philistines, from whom the country received its classical name of Palæstina, or Palestine. The northern part of the region bordering on the Mediterranean was called Phœnicia. The Egyptians gave to the whole eastern coast the name of Kaft. The interior tribes, spreading out over what was afterwards known as the Holy Land, were called the Retennu.

Favorable situation for a higher race development.

One powerful tribe was the Amari, known in the Hebrew annals as the Amorites. Another division was called the Cheta, which became in Hebrew phraseology the Hittites. Nearly every valley and secluded place received its own clan, and took its own ethnic name. Very early among the settlements must be named the establishment of the Sidonians, in the region where their city was afterwards built. Sidon, in the Hebrew genealogy, is set down as the son of Canaan, meaning, perhaps, that the Sidonian tribe was an offshoot from an older Canaanitish branch. At a later period, but still far in the depths of tradition, the city of Sor, or Tyre, which became known as the daughter of Sidon, was founded.

Touches of Biblical and historical names.

Inland we may detect the presence, even in this early age, of the Anakim, who had their country among the stony mountains round about Hebron. The Anakim were represented as of huge stature, giants indeed, who were regarded with traditional dread by the Hebrews. To the north of the Amorites lay the Damascenes. Back of all these may be recognized the names of Zeboim and Zoar and Adaman, with whom Kudur-Lagamer is said to have had his battle in the valley of Siddim. On the east of the Dead sea, as far as the Arnon, lay the country of the Moabites. In what was afterwards the territory of Gibeon were located the Hivites, and in Judah were the Jebusites. The outspreading of these ancient

Outspread of various Canaanitish nations.

OLD HITTITE TYPES.—Drawn by H. A. Harper.

Canaanitish tribes may well remind the reader of the distribution of the Hellenic clans among the mountains and valleys of Greece.

The ethnic development of these peoples took one of two forms. The interior races became agricultural, stock-raising folk; and those of the coast became builders of seaports and the

Two forms of development among these races.

found the same opposition to the progress of their arms in the narrow strip of coast country extending northward from Cæsarea to Antioch.

The manner of life adopted by the Canaanites of the interior districts was very similar to that of the Hebrews in the same situation at a later period. The races lying in the broader parts of

Similarity in progress of Canaanites and Hebrews.

VIEW OF THE DEAD SEA.

fathers of foreign commerce. So distinctly were the latter characteristics impressed upon the Phœnicians as to set them apart in their evolution from the other Canaanites, and to make them indeed a separate study in history. This distinction between them and their countrymen was carried forward to the age of the Hebrew ascendency. The conquest of Canaan by the Israelites did not include Phœnicia; and in later ages both the Babylonians and the Egyptians Syria, eastward of the Jordan, retained a larger measure of the old Mesopotamian life than did they who settled in Canaan Proper. We have already shown in another part what were the native products and resources of these countries. The agricultural life was taken up with facility and success by the immigrant tribes, and the country was soon made not only habitable but productive.

Seen through the prejudice of Jewish narrative, the reader is apt to gather a

EXTERMINATION OF CANAANITES.—Drawn by F. Philippoteaux.

poor opinion of those peoples who were virtually exterminated by Joshua and his successors. But a more careful consideration of the subject will give us a better notion of the condition and character of the unfortunate peoples who fell before the Hebrew invasion. Of their prosperity and manner of life we may form some idea from the occasional glimpses of the country obtainable from the story of the invaders. Canaan was invariably represented as a garden spot in the midst of poorer countries. For instance, if all the references to the vine and its products were gathered from the Hebrew writings, we might well regard primitive Canaan as a continuous vineyard. This should not be thought of the wild estate of the country, but of its improved condition.

Hebrew writings unfavorable to Canaanitish character.

SYRIAN SHEPHERD AND FLOCK.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

Palestine, in the time of the Hebrew conquest, was, without doubt, one of the most inviting morsels that ever tempted the cupidity of men. No doubt the Israelites, after long suffering in half-desert countries, came to the feast with sharpened appetites; but the repast was abundant. Palestine was a land of fruits and flowers, of flocks and herds and vineyards, of orchards and barley and wine presses—kine on the hills and plenty in the storehouses. There were towns and cities and villages in the manner of the civilized life—abundance and variety and peace.

Ancient Palestine a tempting morsel to invaders.

Such a region was fair game for the invaders. It would appear that the Canaanites were not equal in valor to their assailants. Though they fought for their homes and kindred, they could not beat back the incoming warriors.

Civil and social estate of the Canaanites.

The accounts preserved indicate a valorous but unsuccessful resistance.

It is difficult to perceive the extent and variety of the public and private resources of the Canaanites in the time of their ascendency. Among them all, perhaps the most advanced in knowledge and means of living were the Hittites. This nation was not only warlike and powerful, but well supplied with the means of a large and prosperous nationality. Of them, we are better informed by the contemporaneous records of the Egyptians than of any other of the Canaanitish races. They were able, singlehanded, to make battle with Egypt and to hold their own in the contest. The great Ramses went to war with this people, and the conflict was long and strenuous. At last the struggle was ended, not so much by might of arms as by the marriage of the daughter of the Hittite king to the Pharaoh.

That a people were thus able to contend with the strongest nation of the age evidences their advancement and the extent and variety of their resources. So striking was the superiority of the Hittites among the people of Canaan at this age that scholars have doubted whether they were a Canaanitish race, or, indeed, Semitic, in their origin. The Egyptian sculptures show them with shaven faces, mounted three together in war chariots, skillfully arranged for attack and defense, according to the best tactics of antiquity. The men wore a peaked tiara, and their sandals were turned up at the toe in a manner different from those worn by other Canaanites.

Doubts respecting the family relations of the race.

RIVER JABOK.

At the time of the Israelitish conquest none of the nations of Canaan resisted the invaders more strenuously and successfully than did the Hittites. Though they were gradually overcome and driven

Strength of the Hittites in resisting Israel.

from their territories, it would appear that the conquest was effected as much by the refinement and civilization of the Hittites opposing itself to the ferocity of the Israelitish warriors as by any failure of courage or want of resources to withstand the invasion.

The Amorites, though powerful and warlike, were less advanced—their country less cultivated — than was the case with the Hittites. The former were one of the most widely diffused peoples of all Canaan. They were also one of the most ancient. It would appear that the central seat of the race was in the mountains of Judah, west of the Jordan. But the Amorites were also found in Gibeon; and beyond the Jordan they spread themselves by conquest over Gilead and Bashan. At one period their sway extended even to Mount Hermon. In this region there were two Amorite capitals, namely, Heshbon and Ashtaroth, being the central cities of the two countries of Sihon and Og. Such was the distribution of the race that the name Amorite came to be used in the writings of the Hebrews interchangeably with Canaanite. There were at times as many as five petty kingdoms occupied by the Amorites under their own princes.

Wide distribution of the Amorites.

The true distinction between the Amorites and the rest of the people of Canaan is hinted at in the meaning of the word. Amorite signifies a *highlander*, as Canaanite means *lowlander*. It can hardly be doubted that this discrimination was given to the early populations to distinguish the tribes of the hills from the people of the plains. Nearly all of the Amorites dwelt in the hill country, and their manner of life and means of subsistence were in large measure determined by their environment. They were the least agricultural of the Canaanitish nations. Their dependence was for the most part upon their flocks. The mountains of Judah were adapted to certain breeds of stunted sheep and goats which were prized alike for their wool and flesh. The pasturage in such situations was scanty, and the Amorites

Meaning of names; pastoral life predominates.

ANCIENT JOPPA, FROM THE SEA.—Drawn by H. A. Harper, from a photograph.

no doubt lived in a precarious manner. However, they had towns of considerable importance, such as Dapur and Kodesh, which after the conquest took the Hebrew names of Debir and Kadesh.

For the rest, the manner of life among the Amorites was very similar to that of the Hebrews in the like situations. The parts of the country occupied by them, though among the most picturesque of Canaan, were also among the least fruitful—least productive in an agricultural and horticultural sense. The strength of the Amorites lay in their courage. They had the qualities of other ancient mountain men, and were among the last to yield to the armies of Joshua. It was a confederation of five Amorite kings that was overthrown at the waters of Merom. It would appear that the Amorites were not so repugnant, socially and religiously, to the Hebrews as were the other native inhabitants of Canaan. Many people of Amorite extraction remained in the districts which they had formerly possessed, and were content with a relation of servitude to their conquerors.

Power of the Amorites derived from their courage.

The Philistines were a lowland people, belonging to the seacoast. Their region extended from Joppa to the Egyptian desert. The whole country was a low alluvial plain, fertile to the last degree. Much is said in the Hebrew narrative of this district and its inhabitants. For a long time Philistia contended with Israel for the mastery; and it was not until David had succeeded in bringing all the tribes of his countrymen under a single government that Philistine opposition was put down. There were five principal cities in the country occupied by this race. These were Ashdod, Gaza, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron. The first three were coast towns; the last two, inland cities. Each was governed by its own lord, or chief, the whole forming a Philistine confederacy formidable to Israel.

Place and cities of the Philistines.

PASTORAL SCENE NEAR GAZA.

Ethnically, the Philistines are thought to be among the later Semitic immigrants into Canaan. Whether they came before the Abrahamic colonization or afterwards has not been ascertained. It is said that the word Philistine signifies, in Semitic, a *wanderer*. To the Greeks of Alexandria the Philistines were known as "aliens," or foreigners. In the Hebrew narrative there is no mention of the people of Philistia until the time of Deborah, when they are spoken of as oppressors of the Danites.

References to this people; their commerce.

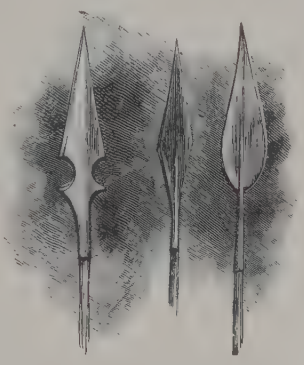
The country of the Philistines was one of the most productive of all Canaan. The cities were, in a commercial sense, the most prosperous—excepting those of the Phœnicians. There was a flourishing trade between the Philistine towns. The ports on this part of the coast were the natural outlets for the trade of the interior. The Philistines were not slow to avail themselves of the advantages of the situation, and their cities flourished by commercial intercourse. Sometimes the slave trade was practiced, and men of the interior tribes were stolen for the market. The traders of Gaza sometimes went among the towns of Israel and seized the inhabitants for slaves.

The principal resources of Philistia were agricultural products, manufactures, and articles obtained by foreign trade. The latter extended at least as far as Egypt, but the Philistines were not comparable with the Phœnicians in maritime adventure. The accounts given by the Hebrew writers of the character of this people, of their country and resources, are, no doubt, prejudiced by the fact of the deep-seated enmity existing between the two races. Israel had no foe whom she dreaded more than the warriors gathered from the plains and cities of Philistia.

Products and manufactures; prejudice of Israel.

Not much can be gleaned out of the silence of that dead age, when the Canaanites still flourished in the country of their choice, respecting the means and methods of their subsistence. We can discover the slight differences in the resources of the tribes of the hill country and of those possessing the plains and valleys. The pastoral element was always present, and perhaps the principal domestic trade was the simple exchange of animals for the products of the soil. All the Semites have been large eaters of animal food. To such a degree have most of the peoples of this race depended upon flesh food for subsistence that the slaughter of animals has ever held among them a sort of religious significance. The outpouring of the blood of the beast or bird has been the ever-recurring incident of the daily life, and this has nearly always been attended with some such religious ceremony as might consecrate the slain victim and the flesh thereof to the sustenance of life.

Large dependence of Canaanites on animal products.



ANCIENT PHILISTINE SPEARHEADS.

A trace of the same sentiment has extended to the products of the vineyards, orchards, and fields. But nature's gifts of grains and fruits and vintage have never been regarded by people of the Semitic stock with the same favor and delight as have the slain beasts and

Animals rather than fruits are sacrificed.

birds on which they have mostly depended. These dispositions are discoverable in the Canaanites. They, like the Hebrews, in sacrificing to their gods, preferred the animal to the fruit or flower; and it is in the nature of every

Social and domestic life of the Canaanites.

ciple of heredity was regarded; that the sons of the family had precedence over the daughters; that the rule of inheritance was observed; and, in general, the practices of the Semitic race re-

OFFERING SACRIFICE UNDER TREES.

primitive people to offer to the deity the thing most prized by themselves.

Of the social and domestic system of the Canaanites we know no more than this: that their families were organized on the polygamous basis; that the prin-

garded and put under sanction of law. For the rest, the social and domestic life of the men of Canaan has been lost with themselves in the oblivion of the past.

Much learned inquiry has been devoted to the subject of the Canaanitish

languages. There is a consensus of opinion that all the primitive tongues of the races inhabiting Canaan were Semitic, with the possible exception of the Hittite. As it respects the language of that people there is considerable doubt. The Hittite names have been carefully analyzed, and many of them have been found to be of an un-Semitic character. This, however, may, as we believe, be accounted for without separating the Hittite race ethnically from the Semites. The diversity in speech of this nation from that of the other tribes of Canaan may most probably be accounted for by their derivation from an Aramaic rather than a Hebraic stock, and by the intermarriage of their princes and princesses with foreign lords. A certain importation of alien names might thus occur without the violent supposition that the Hittites were other than Semitic in their race descent.

Derivation of the language from an Aramaic stem.

As to the political state of this race, we know but little beyond what may be gathered from the Scriptures of the Old Testament. From those writings we have considerable sidelight relative to the civil polity of the Canaanitish nations. The political institutions of all had a family likeness. As we have said above, the various tribes were dissevered from each other alike by geographical barriers and the tendencies of local chieftainship. The Semitic love of independence coïncided with the broken character of Palestine in segregating the petty nations each from the other. In the Book of Joshua we have an enumeration of thirty-one kings of Canaan.[1]

Political institutions of the Canaanitish nations.

Certainly such kingdoms could be of no great extent or power. In one place (Judges xi, 10) we are told that Hazor was "the chief of all these kingdoms." From this, however, we should not understand that the King of Hazor had a feudal suzerainty over his fellow-chieftains of the other states, but only that he was greater than the surrounding kings. The reader will understand that the word king in such a relationship has no sense corresponding to that derived from modern monarchy. It was rather in the case of the chiefs of Canaan a military leadership, which had arisen by the elevation of the headman of the clan to the government of the whole tribe.

Sense of the terms kingdom and king.

OLD CANAANITISH INSCRIPTIONS—SARCOPHAGUS OF ESMUNAZAR.

The most striking fact in connection with the petty states of Canaan was their frequent combination into confederacies. Whenever danger appeared

Disposition of the Canaanites to confederate.

[1] The enumeration is in one place extended to *seventy*.

a federation would be formed of those princes whose territories were exposed. The Israelites had little trouble in overcoming the Canaanitish tribes so long as the latter fought singly; but the confederation of many made the task so serious that Israel was sometimes beaten, and frequently held at bay.

Such government as that of the kings of Canaan was simple and primitive. Perhaps there was little regularity in any of the methods of administration. The king was absolute in his little government, doing his will according to his pleasure. The success of a given reign depended upon the personal ability of the prince. As common among the early Semitic states, the judicial office was for the most part held by the priesthood. In civil affairs the king employed messengers, or heralds, sending them hither and yon with his edicts. There were always about the court certain important characters, princes of leading houses, and successful generals, with whom the monarch conferred as to the methods of his government. The principal check, however, as in all the Semitic countries, upon the absolutism of the king came from the hierarchy. Israel was not alone among the Semitic nations in having a priesthood that dared to beard royalty in its own place, to threaten, to exhort, to admonish, and to constitute, in a word, the most important restraint that was thrown around the will of the sovereign.

Manner of government; the priesthood a check on royalty.

CHAPTER CXII.—RELIGIONS OF CANAAN.

WE here come again to the ascendency of religion as the leading feature in the life of the Semites. Of the religious conceptions of the Canaanites much has been learned from the scattered records of their own times, and of late by what is called the science of comparative religion. The primary ideas of the primitive Syrians relative to the powers of heaven were virtually identical with those of the Chaldees and Assyrians. There was, however, a departure from both the thought and the practice of the ancient faith. In Mesopotamia, especially in Chaldæa, star worship became the leading feature of the Babylonian faith, while in the west, that is, in Canaan, the same original ideas developed into cruel and bloody rites, wholly at variance with the Semitic concept as it was at first.

Fundamental identity of religious ideas among Semites.

In no country, perhaps, has the departure from the religion of nature and of natural life been more pronounced than in the case of the Canaanites. These races set themselves against the natural life, and substituted for its wants abstinence and the harshest asceticism. These notions rose by development, first into the mutilation of the body, and then to the sacrifice of human beings. In one particular, however, nature, instead of being curbed by reason and modesty, was aggravated into beastliness. The deities of procreation and birth were worshiped not indeed with the offering of flowers and fruits, but with the most degraded acts of prostitution and sensual profanity. It seemed to

Wide departure of Canaanitish religions from nature.

be a bottom principle in the Canaanitish rites to join by the religious link the ecstacies of sensual debauchery, the

FISH GOD DAGON—FROM A BAS-RELIEF AT KHORSABAD.

pangs of birth, and the anguish of death in a single emotion, and to express that emotion with fanatical ceremonies in which horror, servility, and the procreative instincts were mixed and mingled together.

The deity El; his Canaanitish names.

The name of the principal deity of the Canaanitish races was originally El, being identical with the god of the Babylonians. He was the ruling god of Syria, and had assigned to him the planet Saturn. The word El suffered modification into Baäl, in which form the name of the Syrian Zeus constantly recurs in the Old Testament. As far back as the time of Ramses the Great, Baäl is recorded as the god of the Hittites. To him an altar was erected by the Moabites, on the summit of Mount Peor. It became customary to select the tops of hills and lonely peaks as the places of the national worship. This was done by the Canaanites at Carmel, Tabor, and Hermon. The Philistines had a like seat of worship at Ekron. The name of Baäl was associated with districts and towns throughout all Canaan. Thus we have Baäl Hamon, Baäl Hazor, Baäl Meon, Baäl Gad, Baäl Perazim, Baäl Tamor, Baälath, Baälbec, etc., showing the universality of the worship of the principal deity of the race.

Baäl becomes the sun; Baältis and her worship.

There was an intimate relation between the worship of Baäl and that of the sun. He became, in the later degeneration of Canaanitish faith, a sun god. Sometimes, however, he was associated with the streams, rivers, and meadows. After him there was a goddess whom the Syrians worshiped, under the name of Baältis; that is, the female Baäl. At the altars of Ashkelon she was called Derceto, and at Hierapolis, Atargatis, being the same with the Hebrew Ashera. The worship of

NEBO—FROM BRITISH MUSEUM.

this goddess extended seaward as far as Cyprus. Without doubt, Baältis was a modification of the Babylonian goddess Bilit, or Mylitta.

The worship of this divinity in Syria, as in Mesopotamia, descended to corrupt sexuality. The young women of Cyprus were wont, as a religious act, to go down to the seashore and offer themselves to the sailors. A retinue of women, both married and unmarried, were kept in the sanctuaries of Baältis for like purposes. There they delivered themselves to men, after the manner of the Babylonian women, as the story is told in Herodotus.

ENTRANCE TO GAZA.
Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

The altars of Baältis were set in shady groves or on the hills. Sometimes the shrines of the divinity were found in the depths of the forests of Lebanon, where sacrifices were made in the same sensual manner. Several trees were sacred to the goddess, among which were the terebinth, the pine, and the cypress. Her symbol was the pomegranate, being the emblem of fertility. Of the animals, those were chosen in which the reproductive instinct was strongest. The ram, the he-goat, and the white dove, as well as certain kinds of fishes, were sacred to Baältis.

Altars of Baältis; her symbols and sacred things.

Next in order in the Syrian pantheon we may mention the god Dagon. His worship, also, was based upon increase and sensual pleasures. Among the Philistines the temple of Dagon was built at Gaza, and that place became the center of the Philistine confederation. Dagon was worshiped also at Ashdod, where his image was established. The effigy had the face and hands of man, the body of a fish, and human feet. Dagon differed in his powers and attributes from Baältis in this that the former was the god of nourishment as well as of fertility. Dagon was regarded as the patron of the field and orchard. He was celebrated as the inventor of the plow and the giver of wheat and barley.

Cult of Dagon; a descendent form of the fish god.

It is not difficult to discover in Dagon a descendent form of the Babylonian fish god, and through that we may discover one of the oldest myths of the Semitic race, namely, that of the rise of the aquatic god, Oan, or Odacon, from the sea. He, in common with Baäl and

Baältis, were the deities of the beneficent powers of nature, favoring the human race in procreation and birth, and afterwards in yielding to men the means of subsistence.

The inimical gods; Moloch in particular.

Over against these gods were set the inimical deities, gloomy, cold, and severe, opposing themselves to the goodness of nature, the beauty of life, and the increase of mankind. Such were the gloomy gods, Moloch and Astarte. It is clear that Moloch corresponded in the Canaanitish pantheon to the Kronos of the Greeks; but Moloch also had the attributes of Mars. He was the devastating god of war. Fire, as the agent of destruction, was the element in which Moloch presided, though out of this he sometimes issued in the form of a bull.

Dreadful rites at his altars; human sacrifices.

In star myth Moloch was associated with the planet Saturn. His wrath burned hotly against the human race, and his destructive agency was constantly displayed. The theory of his worship was that life was demanded; hence the practice of human sacrifice. Moloch was the bloodiest of all the Canaanitish gods. He had a certain preëminence among the Syrian deities; for his office in war was to give victory or defeat. Dreadful were the altars of Moloch. Sometimes a thousand captives were offered up in gratitude for victory. When a new campaign was to be undertaken, the victims were selected and either slain or thrown alive into the sacrificial flames. This was done also when pestilence or famine came. In such cases the victims were not chosen from the enemy, but from native families; and those who were purest and best were offered up to the god of fire and devastation. Children and young girls, the firstborn son, the most beautiful of the household, were taken and given to the flames in order that Moloch might be appeased. Rightly does Milton assign to him the first place in his catalogue of infinitely evil spirits:

"First, Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears;
Though, for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite
Worshiped in Rabba and her watery plain,
In Argob and in Basan, to the stream
Of utmost Arnon."

The thought of the Canaanitish worshiper was that the curse and hatred of

ANCIENT CANAANITISH ALTAR.

Moloch about to fall upon himself might be turned aside and made to descend on the head of the enemy by the expedient of sacrifice. In one place we are told how the King of Moab, reigning in Kirharasheth, "took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and

Theory of bloody offerings; human sacrifices common.

offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall. And there was great indignation against Israel [Israel was making war against Moab]: and they departed from him, and returned to their own land.

However horrible all this may be, we should remember that the idea and practice of human sacrifice extended everywhere with the dispersion of the Semitic race.[1] Time and again we find the episode of human burning repeated as a propitiation to the deity who, under various names, represented the destroying power. Hamilcar, the son of Hanno, offered *himself* as a burnt sacrifice in the year 480 B. C. The battle of Himera had just gone against the Carthaginians, and what should the king's son do but offer himself as a sacrifice to Moloch! Seventy-four years later, at the siege of Agrigentum, Himilco offered a boy in sacrifice by fire, in order to stay the prevailing pestilence. In Carthage an iron image of Moloch, or Kronos, was set up with open arms and an interior cavity flaming with fire. Into this horrid effigy hundreds of noble boys were thrown and consumed during the siege of the city by Agathocles, of Syracuse. It was the custom to drown the cries of the victims with the noise of drums and flutes. The parents of the children thus offered must stand by, mute and tearless witnesses of the burning of their offspring.

Closely associated with Moloch was the Hittite goddess Astarte. She was believed in as the divinity of the fortune of battle. She carried a spear in her hand, and in some effigies is represented as riding on a lion. Her worship was popular among the Philistines and, as we shall hereafter see, among the Sidonians. It was to Astarte that the Philistines dedicated the armor of Saul. Astronomically, Astarte was the moon goddess. On her head she wore the two-horned emblem. Sometimes the symbolism shows the full moon resting between the horns of an ox. Sometimes the goddess is given the title of Astaroth Karnaim, which signifies the horned Astarte. As if to give a touch of purity to the otherwise unrelieved sensualism of the Canaanitish religion, Astarte is represented as a virgin goddess. She was called the maiden of the sky, and her priests were celibates, pledged to continence and purity of life. A married woman was not allowed to approach the temple or offer gifts at the altars of Astarte. On each altar a fire was kept perpetually burning like that which was kindled to Moloch. In further likeness to the worship of that god the service of Astarte accepted and demanded the offering of human beings. Maidens and women were burned in her fires.

Emblems and worship of Astarte.

One of the concepts in the worship of Astarte was the assimilation of the worshiper to the nature of the goddess. They who worshiped must be like her. All the natural desires must be extinguished. The maidens who brought offerings and would find favor with the divinity must remain maidens always. Priests and servants at the shrine could hardly be acceptable except they should become eunuchs. The destruction of sex was a part of the fanatical frenzy which accompanied the orgies in the temples. A sword lay always on the altar ready for the hand of him who would commit self-mutilation. The eunuch priests in the various temples of Astarte numbered thousands. The entire obliteration of sex was aimed at by

Worshipers must assimilate the natures of the goddess.

[1] It is notable that Abraham himself expressed no horror when called upon to offer up his son.

the most zealous worshipers. To this end the men put on the clothing of women and the women clad themselves in the garments of men.

Frenzied scenes and horrors at Astarte's altars.

The accounts which have been preserved of the ceremonies around the altars of Astarte may well remind the reader of the frenzied violence and contortions of the howling dervishes who, to this day, in the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, astonish the rational people of the West with their frightful rituals. Self-laceration, bodily injury inflicted in some form by the hands of the worshiper, was regarded by the devotees of Astarte as most meritorious. When the worshipers were gathered, drums were sounded by the priests, cymbals clashed, and double pipes blew forth their wild and piercing cry. Then the devotees began to move round and round, swaying the body, and gesticulating wildly with their hands. They performed all manner of contortions, bending their heads backward or forward until the hair was soiled with the mire.

When the bodies of the worshipers became covered with perspiration and dust, the fanatics began to bite their arms, to cut themselves with knives and swords. As the fury arose, they would utter forth moans and incoherent prophecies. Some bewailed their sins. Some took up knotted whips and beat themselves until their backs were lashed into gore. The dancing grew wilder and the scourging more dreadful, until the exhausted performers sank half-unconscious to the earth. Then the eunuch priests gathered from the crowds such gifts as might be had for the treasury of the goddess. It was customary for those who came to the altars to bring money or articles of food, such as wine, milk, cheese, and meal. At evening, when the ceremonies of the day were done, the companies were gathered together and feasted, though they who had been most active in the ceremonies were half-dead from exhaustion.

Hilltops of Canaan chosen for idolatrous altar places.

As we have said, the Canaanites generally chose the mountains and hilltops as the places for their altars. It was the custom on such high places to set up stones and pillars of wood. These

IMAGE OF ASTARTE.

effigies were sacred to the gods of Canaan. Sometimes they bore the figures of bulls, and sometimes, as in the case of Dagon, the combined forms of men and fishes. Some of the effigies were rude statues of men, others of women. Some were androgynous, having the character of both man and woman. The reader of the Old Testament Scripture will have noted the horror and animosity with which the Hebrews regarded these "high places" of Canaan.

The races who thus worshiped in degraded rites the ancient divinities of Babylonia were little affected in their moral natures by their faith and practice. At certain seasons of the year great festivals were held, particularly the fire festival. On such occasions it was the usage for the priests to take the sacred emblems and symbols of the particular cult and to bear them about in chests. Thus the images of the gods were magnified before the people.

Moral nature of the people not affected; fire festival.

At the fire festival it was the custom to cut and trim large trees into rude shapes and set them up in the temples. About these stumps of trees the victims and offerings were collected. It was the usage to fasten the goats, sheep, or birds to these trees, and to place thereon cloth of gold and silver, jewels. Then the images of the gods were borne around the trees, and then, when the pyre had been prepared, the whole was set on fire and burned to ashes.

ANCIENT ORIENTAL FIRE AND TREE WORSHIP.

The reader will readily perceive in this sketch of the religion of the Canaanites the causes of the profound antagonism between those peoples and the Hebrews. Israel had been taught, with much severity of discipline, to abhor all idolatries. We have already explained the original oneness of the various systems of worship in Canaan, and the identity of the same with the early conceptions of the Hebrews. But the Canaanitish religions, first departing to the extent of worshiping El under many names and attributes, then descended to stark idolatries, such as those described above. This was intolerable to instructed Israel. The invasion of the latter was not a war waged wholly for the conquest of territory, but rather for the extermination of idolatries. Both the Canaanites and their gods were abhorred and visited with a common destruction.

Cause of antagonism of Hebrews and Canaanites.

CHAPTER CXIII.—THE PHŒNICIANS.

AMONG the nations of Western Syria one of the earliest, as well as one of the latest and greatest, was the Phœnicians. There are sufficient reasons for considering this people apart from the other races of Canaan. The student of history will have observed the continued independence of Phœnicia in the times of the Hebrew ascendency. Israel did not seek to conquer the important country that skirted the Western sea. It would appear that the mutual animosities which existed between the Israelites and the other tribes of Canaan did not hold in the case of Phœnicia. On the contrary, friendliness was cultivated on both sides, and both were benefitted by the mutual comity and intercourse between them. We are thus able to consider the Phœnicians as a separate race bearing a separate history.

Favor of the Hebrews toward the Phœnicians.

The tradition of this people and the beliefs of other ancient nations coïncide in assigning to the Phœnicians an ethnic origin second only in priority to the Egyptians. Herodotus assigns the founding of Sidon to the twenty-eighth century B. C. The native claim, with the usual exaggeration and fancy of the Eastern races, gave to the Phœnicians an antiquity of thirty thousand years.

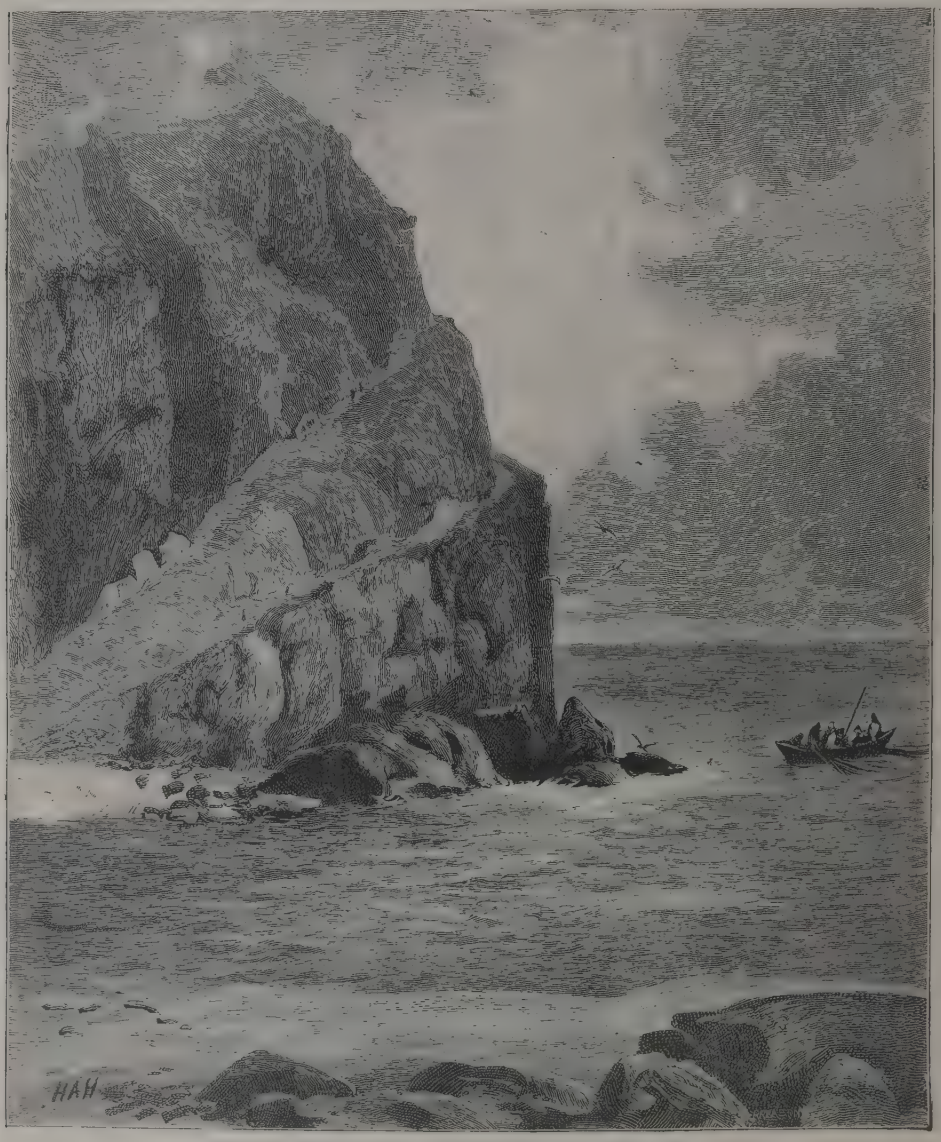
Antiquity of the race; the native myth.

The native myth differed from most of the kind in assigning to the fathers of Phœnicia a foreign origin. They came, said the national legend, from Mesopotamia. There goes also another tradition to the effect that the first settlements of the primitive race in the West were in the basin of the Dead sea. There they planted themselves and abode until the country was shaken and sunk by an earthquake. Then the people, escaping to the coast of the Mediterranean, reëstablished themselves in Phœnicia as their permanent home.

One of the earliest questions relative to this people is the meaning of the name *Phœnician*. The word in its present form is Greek, and for a long time it was supposed to signify the date-palm, thus indicating that the race had migrated from the land of the date-palm;

Meaning and suggestions of the name Phœnician.

that is, Lower Mesopotamia. It is now agreed, however, that φοίνικες, with its proper accent, is an eponym derived from the name is in close analogy with that of the primitive Egyptians, who were designated as *Roth*, or *Red*. The Phœni-



VIEW OF PHŒNICIAN COAST.—Headland near Beyrout.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

φοινός, an adjective signifying "ruddy," or "blood-red." Doubtless this was the descriptive term for the complexion of the ancient people. If this be correct, cians, like the Greeks, did not call themselves by the name which history has assigned to them. The native name was *Kena'an;* or, as we should say, Canaanites.

By the Hebrews the Sidonians were regarded as the oldest of all the Canaanitic peoples. This view is perhaps correct. Of the primitive tribes that settled on the coasts of Syria we are able to decipher the names of five. These were the Sidonians, the Arbadites, the Giblites, the Lemarites, and the Arkites.

Primitive Phœnician tribes; fertility of the country.

On the east the country was backed by the snowy mountains of Lebanon. On the west lay the open sea, inviting to commerce. The rising slopes of the mountains afforded pasture for stock and timber for the building of ships. The mineral wealth was considerable. There were mines of copper and iron. Near the shore the hills were covered with

SIDON BY MOONLIGHT.—Drawn by H. A. Harper, from a photograph.

The country of their choice extended from the river Eleutherus, now called the Nahr-el-Kebeer, on the north, to the promontory of Carmel on the south. It was a narrow strip of coast land, having a breadth of from ten to fifteen miles. The length was a hundred and fifty miles. Yet within this small territory one of the most important nations of the primitive world was developed.

The region was favorable for an evolution of civilization. The soil was fertile. date-palms. The vine and olive flourished, and all the fruits and vegetation which we have mentioned as belonging to the Syrian climate abounded, either by nature or easy cultivation. To these resources and advantages must be added the fisheries of the coast, which in all ages have yielded a rich reward to them who ply the net.

It was natural under such situations that an early civilization should be planted in Phœnicia. Some of the old-

est cities known to history were established on this coast. Tradition carries back the date of the founding of Sidon to a remote and fabulous age. The inscriptions of Sethos, or Seti I, of

Phœnicia a favorable seat of civilization.

Out of the nature of the case the commercial life must spring up and flourish along the Syrian coast. Further and further the adventure of the fishermen and mariners would carry them, until a

Commercial life springs naturally from the situation.

VIEW OF TYRE.—Drawn by H. A. Harper.

Egypt, make mention of Sidon as one of the cities conquered by him—a record which could not have been made if such a city had not existed. Tyre, which was certainly younger than Sidon, was a flourishing city as early as the close of the twelfth century before our era.

knowledge of foreign shores and the resources of distant countries would be added. Thus the means of larger life would be brought to the Phœnician cities with the consequent stimulus to enterprise and achievement.

It would appear that from the very

earliest ages the Sidonians and Tyrians betook themselves to the sea, and began to draw from distant coasts the means of subsistence. Herodotus declares that as soon as the immigrants from the Persian gulf had settled in Phœnicia they "immediately undertook distant voyages; and carrying cargoes of both Egyptian and Assyrian goods, visited" many countries, and "among other places, Argos," in Greece.

Voyages and commercial adventures of the Phœnicians.

One of the most interesting paragraphs in the early history of mankind is that which recounts these voyages, commercial adventures, and colonizations of the old Phœnicians. Their activity at sea became prodigious, even at a very early age. Without doubt there was not a little piracy in the Phœnician expeditions of antiquity. The ships of the Sidonians, Arvadites, and, later, of the Tyrians, went abroad into all parts of the Mediterranean. No important promontory or bay of that great inland water was exempt from their visitation.

The motives of this maritime activity were various. The gathering of riches and the ambition of adventure were the leading reasons of the voyaging and discoveries of this people. What articles of merchandise soever the Mediterranean countries had to offer, these the Sidonian merchants gathered with avidity and bore away to their luxurious cities in the East. The slave trade was assiduously cultivated. Whatever tribe or nation desired a new supply of bond servants had only to go to the Sidonian market. Here, also, the vastly different products of the East and the West were exchanged in the same mart. Wealth came from this merchandise, and Sidon rose to be the first maritime emporium of antiquity.

The reflex effects of this activity upon the Sidonians were marked and salutary. They became not only merchants, but manufacturers and artists. The products of the Sidonian looms were the finest in the world. The kings and priests of both the East and the West were clad in garments produced by the Phœnician weavers. Such cloths were the finest in fabric and the richest in color known to the artisanship of mankind. The costly offerings which men of many nations would make to their gods were procured from the workmanship of the Sidonian shops.

Reflex effects on character of the Sidonians.

Luxury and art abounded. The Phœnician fleets gained control of the Mediterranean. They knew even its most distant shores. They were acquainted with those regions of the earth which abounded in riches, and knew the routes, both maritime and overland, whereby such countries might be reached. They gained and held a monopoly of the trade of antiquity.

Outreaching of the Phœnician fleets; countries visited.

They concealed from their rivals the knowledge which they possessed of the sea and land. By their policy and genius, they were able to take the best for themselves and to leave the residue even to the Egyptians and the Greeks. The islands of the Mediterranean, including Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic isles, yielded to their sway. The shores of Africa and the coasts of Spain were places of familiar visitation and commerce. The Pillars of Hercules were known, but no longer feared. Distant Britain and Ireland were visited, and the tin mines of Wales and Spain gave up their ore for the manufactories and smelting furnaces of Sidon and Tyre.

We here note the activity of the Phœnicians as contributing to the re-

sources of the people—to their means of support. Phœnician life was the most varied and luxurious of the age. The market places of the coast cities were heaped with the resources of many nations, and by the consumption of these the people grew great and intellectual. The Phœnician mind rose to preëminence at an age so far removed that history is unable to reach it with her faintest taper. This small strip of seacoast, with its two or three principal cities, became the wealthiest and most desired morsel of the world. The great despotisms of the East coveted the wealth and industrial resources of Phœnicia. Egypt sought ever to possess herself of so rich an appanage. The kingdom of Solomon and David did obeisance to Tyre and Sidon. Those cities were able to stand against the intrigues and military pressure of great nations. The Babylonian kings battered at the gates for years. Necho besieged the Tyrian stronghold. Alexander must pause here in his career for seven months before he could possess himself of the key of the Phœnician coast.

Enterprise brought affluence and power.

It was, however, the Phœnician mind rather than military resistance that gave to the people their immemorial fame. There was a certain adroitness and skill for which we should look in vain among any other people of antiquity. They who foreran and outstripped the Greeks must have been both intellectual and expert above all nations of their times. The Phœnicians had the reputation of being the great inventors of antiquity. They were the Yankees of the ancient world! It would appear under close scrutiny that their part was rather to *adapt and disseminate* the intellectual achievements of other races than to originate. Thus, for instance, though the Phœnicians have the fame of inventing the alphabet, it is clear that they only adapted the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians to the new purpose of phonetic, rather than pictorial, writing. It was in this form that they transmitted to the Greeks that system of letters which

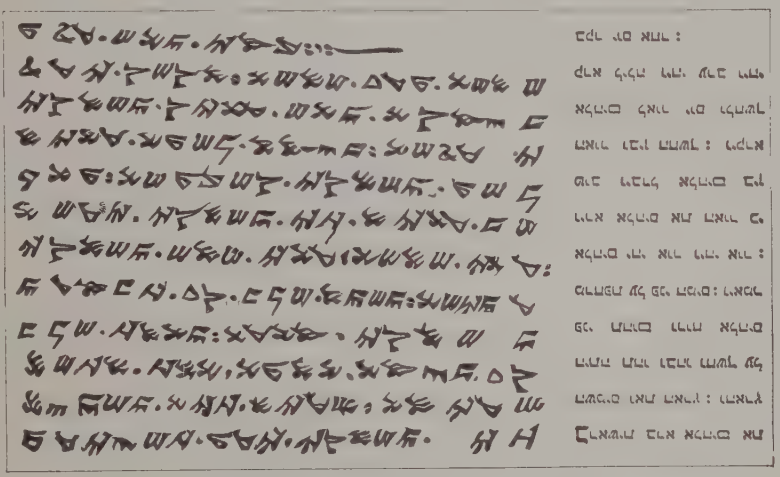
Mental activity of Phœnicians; the Yankees of antiquity.

SIDONIAN COAST BETWEEN GAZA AND ASHKELON.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

the Greeks have transmitted to mankind.

Phœnician skill in practical arts and industries.

The Phœnicians have been accredited with the first manufacture of glass, though this, also, was taken by them from the Egyptian artisans, and was improved, even to the extent of casting mirrors of glass. Likewise, the invention of those two remarkable dyes, the crimson and the purple, would appear to have been derived by the Phœnicians from the Babylonians; but the former perfected the art and made it available in giving to their fabrics the richest colorings ever produced. From the Babylonians, also, came the rudiments of arithmetic and the system of weights and measures which the Phœnicians took up, used, improved, and disseminated.



FAC SIMILE FROM SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

Of the language of the Phœnicians we have a single text preserved by Plautus in the first three scenes of the fifth act of the *Pœnulus*. There in the dialogue the dramatist transcribes certain passages in Punic from the colloquial speech of the people of Carthage. Besides this, we possess a considerable number of monumental fragments and isolated words and expressions. A Phœnician poet is mentioned in an Egyptian inscription. The Greeks preserved by translation the subject-matter of several Phœnician books. A coffin of one of the Sidonian kings has been found in recent years bearing an inscription of greater length and value than all other Phœnician writings which have been saved from the wreck of time. The examples of inscriptions which we possess are done in either stone or metal. From these fragments we have our knowledge of the language of the Phœnicians.

Preservation of fragments of Phœnician.

That language is found to be a Semitic tongue in close analogy with the Hebrew. The two languages are plainly but dialectical divergences of the same original speech. The words of the Phœnician are formed in the same triliteral mold as are the words of Hebrew. The manner of writing also is from right to left. The alphabet consists of twenty-two phonetic symbols, which may be regarded as the foundation of all the alphabets of the civilized nations of Europe and America.

Character of the language; invention of alphabet.

The invention of alphabetical writing is thus conceded to the people under consideration. We should not, however, suppose that the "invention" was an original production out of nothing. On the contrary, the system of phonetic symbolism employed by the Phœnicians,

and by them handed over to mankind, was itself the result of an evolution which had been going on for ages. The Phœnician characters, for instance, were not devised by the people who first employed them, but only improved from preëxisting forms. The strong likelihood is that the rudiments of the formal part of the Phœnician alphabet were derived from the older Egyptian. The great improvement made by the Phœnicians consisted in reducing the pictorial, semipictorial, and symbolical character of the Egyptian alphabet to true phonetic signs. The means by which this was accomplished furnish a curious example of the laborious processes by which the human mind goes forward from ruder to more scientific stages of activity.

Names and Power of Hebrew Letters.			Hebrew.	Palmyrene.	Phœnician.	Aramaic.	Samaritan.	Estrangelo.	Syriac.	Kufic.
Aleph	*a*	1	א							
Beth	*b*	2	ב							
Gimel	*g*	3	ג							
Daleth	*d*	4	ד							
He	*h*	5	ה							
Vav	*v*	6	ו							
Zayin	*z*	7	ז							
Cheth	*ch*	8	ח							
Teth	*t*	9	ט							
Yod	*y*	10	י							
Kaph	*k*	20	כ							
Lamed	*l*	30	ל							
Mem	*m*	40	מ							
Nun	*n*	50	נ							
Samech	*s*	60	ס							
Ayin	*e*	70	ע							
Pe	*p*	80	פ							
Tzade	*tz*	90	צ							
Koph	*k*	100	ק							
Resh	*r*	200	ר							
Shin	*sh*	300	ש							
Tav	*t*	400	ת							

ANCIENT ALPHABETS.

Originally the Hebraic, that is, the Semitic, writings agreed well with the primitive Egyptian in this, that they both expressed the objects of sense by

rude delineations of those objects, that is, by picture writing. Thus, for instance, the letter *aleph* signified an ox, and the letter itself was a rude representation of an ox's head or face. The second letter was *beth*, that is, the house letter; for *beth* signified a house, and the character was drawn in imitation of the front of a house. In like manner the third sign was the camel letter, called *gimel;* for *gimel* signified a camel, and the symbol was "backed like a camel." The fourth was the door letter. *Daleth* signified a door, and was made in imitation thereof; and so on through the whole list of letters.

Genesis and development of alphabetical symbols.

The Phœnicians took the alphabet in this stage of development and phoneticized it; that is, they struck away its symbolical significance. In doing so, they retained the names of the characters and the characters themselves; but at the same time assigned to each character the initial sound of the word signifying the object originally designated pictorially by the character. Thus the ox letter, *aleph*, no longer signified the ox, but the initial sound of the name of the ox, that is, *a*. The house letter no longer signified house, though the character resembling the house was retained, but the first sound of the name of a house; that is, the first sound of *beth*, or *b*. So also the camel letter, *gimel*, lost its symbolism, retaining only the phonetic value of *g hard*. The door letter became *d*, the initial sound of *daleth;* and so on through the whole twenty-two characters. Of vowels proper, there were none; that is, no written vowels. *I*, *u*, and *a* were invented by the Greeks and added to the alphabet which they had received otherwise ready-made from the Phœnicians.

Work of the Phœnicians in producing a rational system.

We have referred above to the spread of the alphabet thus brought into existence. From the Phœnician characters were derived the alphabets of Hebrew and Arabic; and if these, then the Syriac, their descendent tongue. Wherever the Hebrews have gone, in the Old World or the New, they have carried the Phœnician alphabet as the vehicle of their written language. More than this, the Phœnician characters made their way across the borders to become the basis of rational writing among the Aryan races of both Asia and Europe. This alphabet got, so to speak, into the far-flowing currents of Indo-European life, flowing eastward as far as Hindustan, and westward to California and the upper fountains of the river Amazon. The Syriac characters have been adopted with certain variations by the Mongolians, the Turks, and the Manchu Tartars. The alphabet of the Persians is derived from the same original.

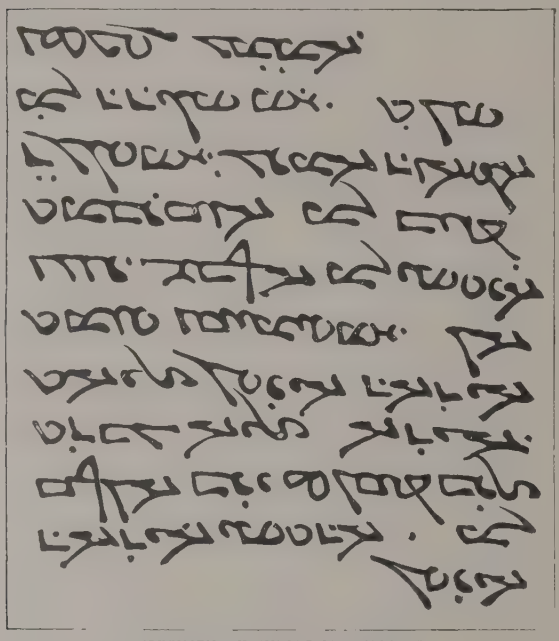
Diffusion of Phœnician characters throughout the world.

Greater still than this diffusion was that effected by the astute and adventurous Greeks. Adopting and perfecting the Phœnician alphabet, they embalmed it forever in the greatest literature of the ancient world. The original Oscans, Umbrians, and Etruscans of the Italian peninsula took up the same alphabet from the enlightened Greeks, made it the basis of Latin expression, and transmitted it as the character of Rome to the better part of the world. The Teutonic races accepted from the Romans and the Greeks, sooner or later, the same alphabetical forms, but with certain considerable native additions and modifications. Thus out of the original Phœnician characters the vast writings of the enlightened nations have been wrought into form and permanence.

It is a peculiar happiness of modern

times that its thought, entering into the fixed forms of literature, is preserved against all reasonable chances of destruction. It seems beyond the probable contingency of human affairs that oblivion shall ever overtake the literature of any great nation of the present day. Nothing short of a general cataclysm of nations, and a purposed vandalism against the literary monuments which the modern peoples have produced, could ever endanger the perpetuity of our learning, letters, and vast volume of printed thought.

Happiness of modern times and loss of antiquity.



SPECIMEN OF SYRIAC MANUSCRIPT.

In these regards antiquity suffered great hardships. It can not be doubted that strong, progressive, enlightened communities of the Old World have sunk into the oblivious nether darkness by the destruction of their records and literary monuments. Such was the isolation of the states and peoples of antiquity that each was exposed to hazards and contingencies with which the modern world is unacquainted.

We can but believe that the inventors of letters were expert in literary expression. How strange the vicissitude of human affairs by which total oblivion has overpassed the literary records of the Phœnician race! Here we have an old sarcophagus of a Sidonian king, with its inscription. Here and there a broken stone slab; yonder afar in the work of a Roman dramatist a transcribed fragment from the folk speech of a rival city. That is all! For the rest, the Phœnicians have been dependent for the perpetuation of their fame upon material enterprises, such as city building, warfare, and maritime commerce.

Oblivion of Phœnician literature.

In art and artisanship the Phœnician people equaled, if they did not surpass, every other race of antiquity. As weavers and dyers of fabrics, they acquired international reputation at a time when few races were acquainted with the works of the rest. As workers in metal, the Sidonian artists were among the most skillful of the many ingenious peoples around the shores of the Mediterranean. The manufactures of Sidon, Tyre, and Byblus were varied to a degree, extending to almost all branches of work known to the ancients. At no other place in the Old World was greater activity displayed than in the factories and shops of the Phœnician cities. There iron and brass and silver and gold were wrought into many varieties of skillful workmanship. Stonecutting and building were practiced in a

Superiority of the art work of the Phœnicians.

perfection second only to that of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Gem-cutting was done with a fineness and beauty of execution almost unequaled in any age among any people. The manufacture of perfumes was carried to the highest success. As late as the Roman ascendency the nobles and ladies of the Eternal City paid tribute to the perfume-

PHŒNICIAN POTTERY.—From *Magazine of Art.*

makers of the Syrian coast. In mining, the Phœnicians were unrivaled. They developed the mines not only of their own country, but also of Thasos and far-off Spain and Britain.

Perfection of Phœnician industries; trade by sea.

Perhaps the application of science to practical enterprise was not carried to greater perfection in any department of industry in any country of the ancient world than in the mining works of the Phœnicians. They made wine and oil, wrought fabrics of wool and linen, cut timber and built it and carved it and framed it to a degree of perfection for which we should look in vain among other peoples of that age. Cotton was also cultivated, spun, woven into cloth. The fur trade was opened into remote regions by Phœnician adventurers. Even the Greeks were dependent upon them for their supply of furs. Ivory was gathered from the tropics in two continents, and distributed to nations who knew not where or how to procure it. Alabaster was carved into many pleasing forms. Finally, a trade in live animals was carried on with all parts of the civilized world, and from this the Phœnicians proceeded to a universal commerce in slaves.

The carrying on of these vast and varied branches of trade was, for the

most part, by the routes of the open sea. This involved a knowledge of navigation and of all the associated circumstances of maritime commerce. Pliny declares that navigation was *discovered* by the Phœnicians. Of course, this expression of the Roman naturalist could not be taken literally, for no race of men can be said to have discovered the means of going to sea. But the Phœnicians were the first of the known races to carry their commerce safely abroad on the dangerous deeps.

ORNAMENTS WORN BY PHŒNICIAN WOMEN.

Navigation involves several kinds of knowledge. In the first place, the navigator must know the seas and their surrounding shores; that is, he must be skilled in geography and cosmography. In the next place, he must be thoroughly familiar with the starry heavens. This is said in particular of the mariner of the ancient world. To him the stars were everything. By them he must keep his course and reach his destination. In the third place, the navigator must know how to contend with the dangers of the sea. He must meet the storm and tempest on an element where his only safety will depend upon the strength of his craft and the skill of management.

Prerequisites of navigator's art; Phœnician shipbuilding.

As shipbuilders and navigators, the Phœnicians were perhaps the greatest people of antiquity. Indeed, it is doubtful whether as builders of sailing and trading vessels they have ever been surpassed. The forests of the Syrian coast furnished cedar and cypress and oak of

PHŒNICIAN SHIPS IN A STORM.

the best quality for the building of ships. The native timber was of a kind to resist the action of salt water almost for centuries. With these materials in their hands, and the opportunities of the Mediterranean before them, the Phœnicians became *faciles principes* among the maritime races of the Old World.

Evolution of Phœnician vessels; ships of Byblus.

The oldest form of Phœnician ship with which we are acquainted was a trading vessel called by the Greeks the *gaulos*. It was a ship with a high prow and stern rounded up in such form that one end of the vessel looked much as the other end. The gaulos was propelled by a single large sail and by oarsmen, a score or more in number. This original vessel was presently elongated, and became a ship of fifty oars. It was perfected as a merchantman, and was varied and strengthened as a war ship. Finally, the same vessel was developed into an *armed* merchantman of large dimensions and great fame under the name of the "ship of Tarshish." Such a vessel was able to carry a crew of five hundred men. Both the Phœnician and Carthaginian ships were known to have this capacity.

It appears that the city of Byblus took the lead of both Tyre and Sidon as a seat of shipbuilding. The Byblian vessels were regarded as the best. The keels and masts of these were made of cedar, and the oars of oak. For the latter material the builders were indebted to the celebrated forests of Bashan. Tradition has it that the Sidonians and the sailors of Aradus were the most skillful. The fame of these mariners filled the ears of antiquity.

We are indebted to the Greeks for some knowledge of Phœnician navigation. The crews were subjected to the strictest discipline. The master of the ship was supreme, and his officers and men obeyed him as the body obeys the mind. One special feature of excellence was the skill acquired by the Phœnicians in the distribution of space on shipboard. They learned how to divide up and apportion the various parts to cargo, supplies, and quarters in such manner as to avoid confusion and secure economy in storage and transportation.

Distribution of space; knowledge of pilots and marines.

The pilots and officers of the Phœnician marine knew the sea as an open book. If we are to accredit the universal tradition, these men made their way out of the Mediterranean in both directions, and sported alike with the Indian ocean and the Atlantic. The sailors of this great marine acquired the mastery of the sail and the oar, until neither wind nor wave could stay their progress. To them all months were alike. While the mariners of other countries were able to voyage only in the most favorable weather, the Phœnicians took all seasons for their own.

A part of this skill and success was traceable to the knowledge which the Phœnician sea captains had of the skies and stars. The Greek seamen sailed by the constellation of the Great Bear. We may readily perceive the confusion which would arise from this source. Ursa Major, though brilliant, varies his position by sweeping around the pole. Doubtless the Greek sailors observed this phenomenon and steered accordingly, whether their guiding constellation were above or below, to the right or the left, of the pole. The Phœnicians, however, discovered the Polar star, and sailed by that unvarying monitor of the heavens. The Greeks called it the "Phœnician star." Not only accuracy, but speed of sailing was attained. A

How Phœnician mariners surpassed the Greeks.

good Phœnician ship was able to make from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and fifty miles in twenty-four hours. This speed will appear sufficiently surprising when we remember that as late as the fifteenth century the best galleys of the Venetians were not able to surpass a hundred miles in a day's sailing. Only in modern times, with the rise of science and its application in the propulsion of ships, has any people surpassed the Phœnicians in speeding vessels across the sea.

The first product of this mastery of the deep was the commercial wealth and greatness of the Phœnicians. The Egyptian sculptures of the time of Tuthmosis III show by clear delineation the nature of the imposts levied on the people of the Syrian coast. The latter are represented as bringing corn and wine and oil, horses, gold, silver, and iron. Arms of many patterns and elegant works of art. In all these things Phœnician commerce abounded. Moreover, on the other hand, their caravans struck out across the deserts to Mesopotamia, and came back laden with all the stuffs of Babylonia. Vessels of clay and metal ornaments, and fabrics dyed with the richest tints ever known to the art of coloring, must be included in this commercial invoice.

Commercial wealth followed enterprise by sea and land.

Meanwhile, copper ore was discovered in the island of Cyprus, and the Phœnicians began to work that valuable metal into utensils, implements, and coins. The lines of maritime enterprise was stretched from Sidon and Tyre and Byblus to all the important parts of the Mediterranean, and far beyond—to Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, Thera, Melos, Samothrace, Imbros, Lemnos, and Thasos, all these in the European direction.

Outlying trading ports of the race; colonization.

Along the African coast the same activity was displayed. Malta was reached—Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, the Baleares, the coasts of Spain, the Pillars of Hercules. From all these regions the best of their products were drawn with the principal advantage—as has ever been—to the carriers.

A second result of this extraordinary activity by sea was colonization. The Phœnicians began to colonize. The story of Carthage, of its founding by a colony from Tyre, is known as far as Vergil and his Roman epic have been borne by fame. But not Carthage only was built by the Phœnicians. Their enterprise carried them among the Greek islands and to the mainland of Hellas. Duncker establishes the date of the landing of the Phœnicians on Thasos, and of Cadmus, in Bœotia, at the close of the sixteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century B. C. It is believed that when the Dorians, about the close of the twelfth century B. C., took possession of Melos, they supplanted the Phœnicians in that island.

The legend of the influence of Cadmus and his countrymen at Thebes runs as far as the limits of polite learning. Meanwhile, the same active people made their way to the west of Greece, and established themselves in Dodona. In the next place, they occupied the promontories of Sicily and the small islands circumjacent. On the south coast they built the city of Makara, and on the west coast they founded Eryx, five thousand feet above the sea level, and built thereon a temple to the Syrian Venus.

Outreaching of the Phœnicians to foreign shores.

In Sardinia many Phœnician colonies were established. In this island, iron, silver, and lead were found, and hereby the eagerness of the Phœnicians for valu-

able metals was whetted to an edge. By the close of the twelfth century they had reached the western boundaries of the Mediterranean. Diodorus gives an interesting account of the passage by the regions lying to the west. When their undertaking succeeded according to their desire, and they had collected great treasures, they resolved to traverse the sea beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which is called Oceanus. First of all,

Diodorus describes Phœnician voyages and colonization.

PHŒNICIANS BRINGING TREASURES TO SOLOMON.

Phœnician mariners from the inland to the greater ocean. "From ancient times," says he, "the Phœnicians carried on an uninterrupted navigation for the sake of trade, and planted many colonies in Africa, and not a few in Europe in the on their passage through these pillars, they founded upon a peninsula of Europe a city which they called Gadeira, and erected works suitable to the place, chiefly a beautiful temple to Hercules, with splendid offerings, accord-

ing to the custom of the Phœnicians. As this temple was honored at that time, so also in later times, down to our own days, it was held in great reverence. When the Phœnicians, in order to explore the coasts beyond the pillars, took their course along the shore of Libya, they were carried away far into Oceanus by a strong wind, and after being driven many days by the storm, they came to a large island opposite Libya, where the fertility was so great, and the climate so beautiful, that it seemed, by the abundance of blessings found there, to be designed for the dwelling of the gods rather than men."

Here we have a narrative full of interest. The Gadeira spoken of is known on the coins by the name of Gadir, or Agadir; but in the writings of the Greeks and Romans was called Gades; that is, the modern Cadiz, which is the most ancient city in Europe that has preserved its name from antiquity. The date assigned by Duncker and other antiquarians to this event is the year 1100 B. C.

Founding of Cadiz and Tarshish; conjectural adventures.

Close by the Phœnician Gades lay the

PILLARS OF HERCULES.—Drawn by John O'Connor.

valley of the Guadalquivir. This received the Phœnician name of Tarsis, or, as the Hebrews have transmitted it, Tarshish. It was from this remote region that the huge ships of the Phœnicians, voyaging to the Syrian coast and laden with the raw materials of a most valuable commerce, were named by Ezekiel the ships of Tarshish.

We have now approached the conjectural parts of Phœnician maritime enter-

prise. That the sea captains of Sidon and Tyre and Byblus made their way into the Atlantic can not be doubted. To what extent they explored the coast of Africa is unknown. That they made themselves familiar with Britain and her resources can not be doubted. It is possible that these adventurers doubled Africa and made their way to India; but the greater likelihood is that the line of communication with that country was established by the way of the Red sea, as well as overland by caravan.

Of the Semitic race no other people have displayed even approximately so great activity in extending knowledge, colonizing and exploring the hitherto unknown regions of the earth, as did the Phœnicians. Of the adventurous Aryans, only the Greeks, the Italians, and the English have equaled the brave seamen of the Phœnician cities—this, too, in the depth of antiquity; for the age of these extraordinary enterprises by sea and land can not have been less removed than the eleventh century before our era.

Phœnicians surpass other Semites in progress and knowledge.

The preëminence of the Phœnician race was clearly recognized by the best peoples of the ancient world. The Greeks were not much disposed to concede precedence to any people other than themselves; but they clearly recognized the superiority of the Phœnicians in the mastery of the sea, as well as in the invention of phonetic writing. The Hellenes regarded the philosophers of the Syrian coast as their schoolmasters. They regarded them with the same respect as the Egyptians. The tradition of the commercial and intellectual greatness of Phœnicia was spread through all the countries of the Mediterranean.

Greeks do homage to the race; small political progress.

In the matter of government and laws not much may be said with respect to this people. In common with the other Semites, they suffered on account of the non-separation of the civil and the religious life. Religion and civil society were mixed and blended into one, and the priests, as has always happened under such conditions, held back the race from a true political development.

Phœnicia was divided into several kingdoms. The Sidonians and Tyrians and Byblians had each a king of their own. It does not appear that the country was ever united under a common government. The aspect, on the whole, must remind the reader of the political condition of the Italian seacoast in the Middle Ages—with this difference, however, that the civil life of the Phœnician cities did not develop into activity by democratic agitation. On the contrary, the common political stagnation peculiar to all Semitic governments supervened, and while private enterprise went forward with astonishing strides, the civil life lay dormant. In the Italian seashore republics, on the other hand, the political life was predominant. Every man was a part of the government, and the fact of government seemed to be the first consideration of the people.

Division into kingdoms; comparisons with Italy.

The kingship in the Phœnician cities was of the common Canaanitish type. It is not clearly known by what right the king came to the throne and reigned. The Semitic language is nearly always in this form: that the king "was chosen;" but the manner of choice did not, perhaps, correspond to any of the methods of modern times. The principle of hereditary succession had much to do with the appointment of the king. The rule of primogeniture, however, was not strongly enforced, and the claims of

Character of kingship; method of choosing the ruler.

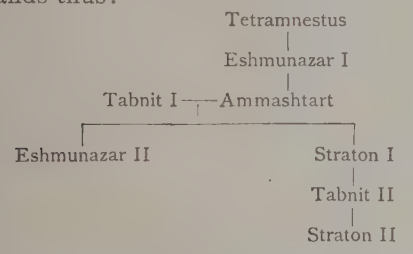
several brothers were almost equally strong.

Another element of much value entered into the problem of choice, and that was the personal ambition and ability of the candidate. The Semitic nations were greatly disposed to accept, follow, and obey a popular prince. He who seemed to have the largest gifts as a warrior, he who "found most favor" in the eyes of the people generally obtained the throne. The candidates, however, with occasional exceptions, were members of the reigning family.

As a rule, the reigning prince was displaced only by death or revolution.

Sidonian dynasty; rules of descent and succession.

At one place we are able to trace out the Sidonian dynasty for seven consecutive reigns, beginning in the latter part of the fifth century B. C. The diagram stands thus:



We here have a form of descent very similar to that in monarchical countries of Europe. But the evolution of government, notwithstanding the favorable situation, stopped short. More than any other people of Semitic blood, the Phœnicians approximated the Indo-Europeans in the civil as well as the commercial life. It is clear that the governmental organization of the Phœnician cities surpassed that of the Hebrews, and showed greater variety than might be found in the Mesopotamian kingdoms.

As we have said, the Sidonians had a king of their own, as did also Tyre and Byblus and Berytus and Aradus. It can not be doubted that this type of civic monarchy arose from the patriarchical headship of the ancient tribes. At the first the king was no more than the elder of the tribe. When the tribe became sedentary and built a city, the headman was king. There was also an aristocracy. With the development of the cities there arose merchant princes, shipowners and warehousemen of high station and great wealth. These were divided from the multitude of laborers, artisans, sailors, and slaves. The nobility rose to influence in the government. It was impossible that the city kings could rule with such absolutism amid the teeming and active population of the capital as did the feudal princes of our later Middle Ages, or as did the great kings of the East.

Place of the city kings in general society.

The natural independence of a wealthy aristocracy would throw a rein over the will of the king. No doubt a community of interest existed between the sovereign and the nobility. It was of importance to each alike that order and peace should be maintained. The throne must depend on revenues, and in return for these must concede to the wealthy Sidonian and Tyrian burghers many advantages and rights. The merchants of the cities are generally spoken of as princes. They had great pride and great estates. Ezekiel calls them elders of the city. The more influential were gathered around the king and constituted his council. These were the chiefs of ancient families and hereditary priests.

The Tyrian nobility a check on the monarch.

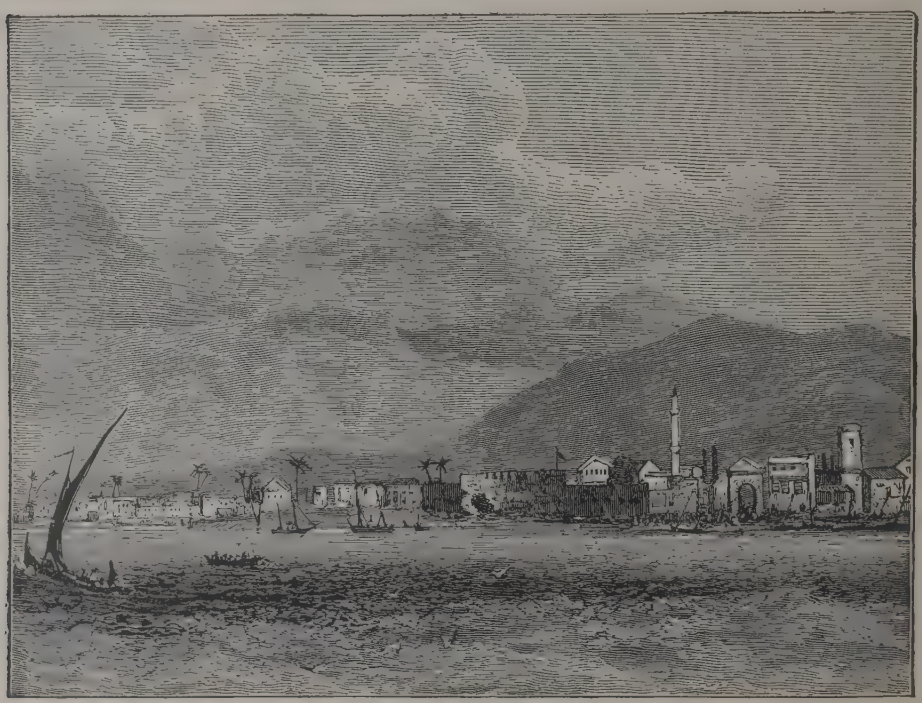
It was a point of honor among the Phœnicians that descent could be traced far back to the forefathers of the tribal epoch. For a long time this hereditary

Pride of descent and growth of the aristocracy.

right to preëminence in the civic monarchy would be recognized and pass unchallenged; but at length wealthy merchants, trading firms, and great sea captains would claim admission into the king's council. There must be an enlargement to admit such as these to participation in the affairs of the city. The military life also would make Greeks or the Italians a highly inflected civil government, became in the hands of the Phœnician nobility no more than a prefigurement and possibility.

The civic monarchy of the mother cities of Phœnicia tended to spread itself into the colonies. The older colonies followed the parent state in their style

The civic monarchy diffuses itself into foreign parts.



VIEW OF LANARKA, CYPRUS.

some great. A condition supervened like that of mediæval Venice. The Sidonian council in the fourth century B. C. had been increased to five hundred or six hundred members. The movement was clearly in the direction of the republican development which was to appear, after many centuries, in the Italian cities; but the appearance never came to fruitage. The civil development was arrested, and that which would have become in the hands of the of government. This movement extended westward as far as the cities of Cyprus, but not farther. In the West, particularly in Carthage, an aristocratic form of government was adopted, with a tendency toward republicanism. By the Carthaginians the kingship of the mother Tyre was discarded in favor of a judgeship. There was an elective system by which annually two suffetes, corresponding in part to the Roman consuls, and in part to the judges of Israel, were

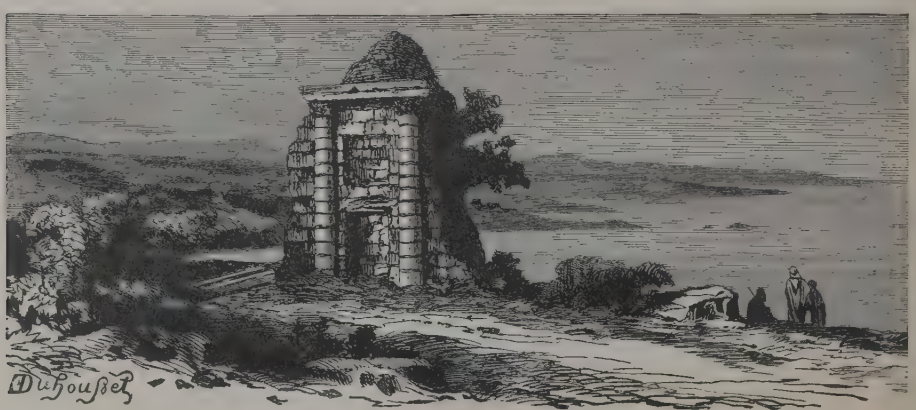
chosen. The office of suffete was partly juridical and partly executive. A Carthaginian council was formed, composed of thirty elders, who were representatives of the principal families as well as magistrates of the people; the elders corresponded to the senators of the Romans.

PRIEST DENOUNCING JUDGMENTS TO THE KING.

The kings of the old Phœnician cities led a luxurious life. They were rich in resources and splendid in their manner

of living. In addition to the kingly office many of them had commercial interests in common with the other princes of the state. The accounts of the Tyrian and Sidonian kings are uniform in describing them as princes of the highest estate and glory. Ezekiel speaks of the King of Tyre as sitting like a god in the midst of the sea, and as dwelling in Eden. "Precious stones," saith the prophet, "are the covering of his palaces: the ruby, the topaz, the diamond, the chrysolite, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the carbuncle, the emerald,

Luxurious living of the kings and nobles.



CYPRIAN TOMB (OF ROMAN PERIOD) AT TAKSBET.—Drawn by Duhousset.

and gold; the workmanship of his ring-cases he bears upon him." The Psalmist declares that the king's garments smell of myrrh and cassia; in ivory palaces the sound of harps gladdens him; at his right hand stands the queen in gold of Ophir, in a garment of wrought gold; on broidered carpets she shall be brought to him; the young maidens her companions follow her.

The reader must not forget the situation in which these civic monarchies of the Phœnicians were established. The kingdom was a city, the city was a state, and the state was that. The Phœnician

Situation of the civic monarchies of Phœnicia.

metropolis was built on either the coast or an island. The situations were narrow. Aradus was founded on a mere rock off the coast. Strabo says: "The smallness of the rock on which the city lies, seven stades only in circuit, and the number of inhabitants, caused every house to have many stories. Living water had to be obtained from the mainland. On the island there were only wells and cisterns."

Tyre herself was built in a like situation. Sidon hung over the sea. The building, particularly that of the outer walls, was of gigantic blocks of stone, laid as much as possible in imitation of the natural cliff. No other ancient cities were built to so great a height. Great populations must be accommodated in the smallest area. Story was laid on story to a great height. The returning merchantman drawing near to this part of the Syrian coast would see the lofty structures and stone walls of Sidon arising out of the sea,

Appearance of the cities from the sea.

"As from the stroke of the enchanter's wand."

High up above the heavy stone masonry lighter stories of dwelling houses were constructed of wood work.

Of all this only a few remains have come down to the present day. Along the shore opposite the islands on which Tyre and Aradus were built, as also in the neighborhood of Sidon and Byblus, many rock tombs are found belonging to antiquity. The tombs, like the houses, are built one story upon the other. Like remains are found in Cyprus and among the ruins of ancient Carthage. For the rest, however, the splendid and compact cities which the Phœnicians builded in the times of their greatness have sunk into dust and oblivion.

Absence of federation among the Phœnician states.

It only remains to remark the absence of any general federation among the ancient civic monarchies of Phœnicia. Each was independent of the rest. There seems to be something peculiarly conducive to the independent spirit in maritime cities. The other Canaanitish peoples were wont, particularly in times of trouble, to make leagues for self-preservation against some common enemy, but there does not appear to have been any instance of such confederation among the enlightened and powerful cities of the coast. Even the rude Philistines confederated in war against the enemy; but Tyre and Sidon and Aradus and Byblus and Beruth pursued each her own course of development, and sought the perils and benefits alike which arise from independence and sovereignty.

General view of the religion and myth of the race.

The religion of the Phœnicians was originally of the common Semitic type. In the secondary stage it was a faith and practice in close analogy and likeness to that of the other peoples of Canaan. In the times of Phœnician greatness, however, the religious rites and teachings of the race took a form sufficiently distinct from the practices of the other races of Syria to require some particular discussion.

In the first place, there was a greater tendency to mythology among the Phœnicians than among almost any other Semitic people. Phœnicia lay on the border land between the Semites and the Aryan nations. The country and people were more infected with Indo-European influences than was any other division of the Semitic family. This was true in thought, in institutions, in manners and customs. The intercourse of the Phœnicians was Europeward, westward. It were but natural to expect that in a certain measure the mythological dogmas and traditions of the Phœnician race would approximate somewhat the myth and legend of the Aryans.

Philo's account of the genesis of heaven and earth.

To Philo, of Byblus, we are indebted for the greater part of our information concerning the Phœnician theory of God and nature. In his translation of the writings of Sanchoniathon he gives us the outline of the genesis of things and the theory of godhead. The reader can but be surprised at the mixture of Greek and Semitic ideas in the system which Philo has transmitted to us. In the beginning all things were dark and obscure. There was a vast and melancholy chaos. Over this there was a moving atmosphere, or wind, corresponding to what in Hebrew phraseology was the spirit, or breath, of the Elohim. This was the wind of the Beginning. The wind of the Beginning felt a yearning of love, and this moved upon the chaos. The mainspring of things, therefore, was Desire.

Desire was the true Beginning. By the involution of the wind of the Beginning upon itself arose that form of mat-

ter called Mot. What this signified is not clear. Some think soft earth; others, putrifying matter; others, a watery mixture. It was the protoplasm of universal nature. In this were the seeds of all things. Mot was in the form of an egg. Then the myth runs on as follows: "And then shone forth the sun and moon and the great constellations. As the air now sent forth a fiery glow, winds and clouds arose from the kindling of the sea and the earth, and vast tempests of rain streamed down; and when all this dashed together there followed thunderings and lightning by which the creatures were awaked; and on the earth and in the sea the male and the female elements began to move. And from the wind Kolpia and his wife, Baäu, which means night, Æon and Protogonus, mortal men, were begotten. Æon discovered the nourishment obtained from trees. And Æon and Protogonus begot Genos and Genea, who dwelt in Phœnicia; and when the fierce heat came they stretched out their hands to the sky and the sun. Since they regarded the sun as the only lord of the sky, they called him Belsamen, which, among the Phœnicians, means Lord of the Sky, and among the Greeks Zeus."

LIBANUS, WITH DRUSE VILLAGE ON CLIFF.

The myth proceeds with the begetting of children by Æon and Protogonus. The children were called Phos and Pyr and Phlox; that is, Light and Fire and Flame. For these children discovered fire by rubbing together pieces of wood. Also, they begat offspring who were of prodigious stature. One was Casius, another Libanus, a

The myth stoops down from sky to earth-land.

third Antilibanus. Here the myth touches the earth, for we have the names of mountains. One of the descendants of the giants discovered the art of making huts, while another invented clothing. These set up pillars to the fire and the winds and offered sacrifices of beasts. Then arose one of the descendants of these Titans, who was called Chusor, that is, Vulcan. He was the father of ironmongers, the inventor of the fishhook, the first navigator of the sea. Another descendant was Agros. He was the field. From him came the Agrotes, who were the farmers, the husbandmen.

SITE OF DAGON'S HOUSE, NEAR GAZA.—Drawn by Paul Hardy, from a photograph.

After this was born Eljon; also a woman named Beruth. Eljon signified the Highest. He took Beruth and begat Uranus and Ge; that is, the Heaven and the Earth. Uranus obtained the kingdom of his ancestors, took his sister Ge and begat El, who had for one of his names Dagon. He it was that discovered corn and invented the plow. El was offended at the infidelity of his father, attacked him, drove him from his throne, and took the kingdom. Then he built Byblus, oldest city of the Phœnicians. So the myth wanders on and on through endless inflections, sometimes running into Hellenic, but more frequently into Semitic, nomenclature.

Origin and descent of the Tyrian Baäl; his powers.

The El whose genesis is here described became the Baäl of the Tyrians. Him they invoked as the king and guardian of their city. His added name of Melkarth signified the city king. He was also identified with navigation. To Baäl Melkarth was reared the splendid ancient temple at Tyre which so astonished the wonder-loving Herodotus with the richness and magnificence of its vo-

tive offerings and ceremonial. Baäl Melkarth was worshiped by the Phœnicians as the god of labor and conquest. He was also the creator of new life. He it was who, when the zodiac hung banefully over the earth, brought back the sun and vanquished the malevolent aspect. He it was who warded off excessive heat and cold. When the constellation of Leo held the sun, and the earth was scorched with fiery heat, Melkarth pressed back the lion and gave shadow and renewal. Only when Baäl was on a journey or slept might the people of the city suffer from the inauspicious look of the heavens or the anger of the seas.

It was one of the peculiarities of the Tyrian worship that Melkarth combined in himself the beneficent and baneful powers of nature, which among the other Canaanites were divided between Baäl and Moloch. The same thing was true of Astarte, who was the divinity of procreation and of death. She gave both blessing and bane. From her proceeded sensual enjoyment and birth on the one hand, and war and death on the other. Her worship was celebrated in great state at Ashkelon, Cyprus, and Carthage. At Byblus the king's daughters served among the priestesses. Astronomically, the Tyrian goddess was associated with the moon. With the waning of that orb the Tyrians performed the rites of mourning, and on the return of luna they exchanged the mournful ceremony for rejoicing and sensual pleasures.

Melkarth the god of blessing and of bane.

Under the name of Eljon the people of Byblus adored the Highest. Strange that Eljon should have been slain in a battle with wild beasts! His worship was celebrated with sacrifices and libations. Second to Eljon was Adon, meaning the Lord, the name being identical with the Hebrew Adonai. Adon was only a later form and variation of Eljon, in whose place he stood. When in the month of July the river Adonis, running down to the sea near the city of Byblus, was swollen and discolored with the red earth of the mountains, then said the Byblians: "Our Adon is slain in Libanus by the savage boar of the war god." The women of the city at this season went to the shrine of the temple with loud cries and lamentations for the death of the beloved Adon. They were wont in their frenzy of grief to cut off their hair and tear their breasts, while they cried aloud, "Ailanu, ailanu;" that is, "Woe to us." After a while, with the subsidence of the red stream, those serving in the temple would wash the wooden image of Adon, and the god was then said to reäppear. With this lamentations were exchanged for rejoicings, and these in turn for sensual pleasures.

Cult and ceremonial of Eljon of Byblus.

We have already mentioned the Phœnician Vulcan, called Chusor. He it was who discovered the working of iron. The deity is shown on the Phœnician coins clad in a leathern apron. He carries a hammer and tongs. He was regarded as the tutelary god of civic life, and as having dominion over navigation and handicraft. With him was associated the female divinity called Chusarthis. She seems to have corresponded to the Harmonia of the Greeks. Chusarthis, however, was reckoned one of the severe and chaste goddesses of the pantheon, having assigned to her the upholding of justice and the maintenance of law.

Myth of Chusor and Chusarthis.

We here come to Cadmus. It is thought by some that Κάδμος is the Greek name of Baäl Melkarth himself. But to the Greeks Cadmus appeared

rather as a hero and man-founder of cities than as a deity. On the Phœnician side, however, Cadmus was the discoverer of mining, the father of masonry, the inventor of writing. He searches for Chusarthis and weds her. He becomes the god of marriage, the tutelary divinity of the wedding couch. The myth of the journey of Cadmus, of the founding by him of Thebes, and the giving of his alphabet to the Greeks, is known wherever their tradition has been disseminated.

Tradition of Cadmus and the Cabiri.

One of the principal myths of the Phœnicians had respect to the Cabiri. These were the seven sons of the demigod Sydek. The Cabiri themselves were nameless. Afterwards there was added to them as their brother the eighth of the list, who took the name of Eshmun. He was not only the last, but the greatest, of the Cabiri. They were the tutelary deities of the city of Berytus, or Beruth. Officially, the Cabiri were the gods of the manual arts and industries. They were also the land gods. Their worship became especially popular in the later epochs of Phœnician history. After the Cabiri came the primitive heroes of the coast cities, the founders and builders of the state. The Phœnician pantheon at length descends to the level of human life.

The Phœnicians, like the other Canaanites, were given to visible idolatries. It should be observed, however, that anthropomorphic images were not popular. Images there were in abundance; but they were mostly symbolical, and carved as little as possible in similitude to the human form. The Phœnician gods were double-headed, or winged, or dwarfish, or hermaphroditic, or, in some other particular, monstrous. We have already seen how pillars of stone and of wood were set up—gross effigies expressive of the prodigious concepts and vague conceits of the people respecting the forms of the deity.

Misshapen aspect of the visible gods of Phœnicia.

In the matter of sacrifice, animals were mostly employed. The male domestic animal was preferred; and of these the ox was of greatest reputation. Sometimes wild stags were offered, but generally the victim was selected from the flock or herd. The minor offerings were birds or fruits of the earth. The Phœnicians were less prone to human sacrifice than were the other Canaanites. Human beings were sometimes offered, but it was generally done by the authority of the state, as an act of great solemnity and in times of national distress. In such cases the victims were selected on the same principles as among the other Semitic races. The one chosen must be pure, innocent. It must be a gift of native blood, not an alien. For these reasons children were generally taken, and since the best were preferred, the choice usually fell on the firstborn of the household. The sense of the thing was the same as that which demanded the gift and spoliation of virgins as a thing acceptable to Astarte, at the time of the annual festival to that divinity in the sacred groves. At length the notion of vicarious sacrifice supervened, and the human victim was substituted with some other offering. It was reckoned sufficient, particularly in the ceremonial of the Byblians, that the woman who was to be offered should cut off her hair and devote it to Adon or Chusarthis.

Theory of animal and human sacrifices.

PHŒNICIAN HOUSEHOLD IMAGE.

Religion among the Phœnicians held the highest place. Though the king was supreme, he was himself a devotee of the national faith. Though he was theoretically the owner of all lands, he must be a liberal contributor to the national altar. The high priest of Hercules was among the Tyrians held to be the second man in the state. This dignitary was generally a kinsman of the sovereign, and was the power behind the throne. He and the king were at one in purpose. The ceremonies of religion constantly occupied the attention of the people. Like the other Semites, the Phœnicians were given to the worship of El, and his presence and control among human affairs was recognized as the first principle of religion and state policy.

Close affiliation of religion with the secular power.

CHAPTER CXIV.—CYPRIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, SYRIANS.

WE have thus followed with sufficient amplitude the ethnic development of the Phœnicians in their native seats along the Syrian coast. Besides their growth into nationality in this region, they spread out into foreign parts. We have already spoken of those enterprises by which they became the colonizers of antiquity. We may not in this connection follow with nicety the spread of the Phœnician race into all the places which it occupied, but will note a few only of the more important.

One of the first and most celebrated of these places was the island of Cyprus. Situated nearly midway between the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria, it was but natural that the Phœnician captains should become acquainted with the island at a very early date, and should establish commercial settlements therein. Who the aboriginal inhabitants of Cyprus were we know as little as in the case of other countries and islands. The reader must bear in mind that in only a few rare and uncertain instances have any islands or coasts of this terraqueous sphere been found which were not already in possession of some human tribe.

The Cyprian race springs from a Phœnician original.

Of the places and extent of the early Phœnician settlements in Cyprus we are not informed. One thing is clear, and that is the early introduction of the worship of Astarte as the chief divinity of the island. Here it was that the mythology of the Phœnicians touched that of the Greeks. The Cyprian Venus was the Greek Aphrodite. The Hellenes regarded Paphos, one of the cities of the island, as the native place of their goddess of love. The name of the island was associated with that of the divinity who was called Cypria by preëminence.

Obscurity of early race conditions in the island.

There was a time when the population of the island was almost exclusively Phœnician; that is, Semitic. At an early day, however, the Greeks began to colonize Cyprus, and the establishments of the two nations and races existed side by side. Indeed, the island was the principal meeting place of the two great ethnic currents. Many of the Greek legends had their origin here,

Confluence of Greeks and Phœnicians in Cyprus.

and along this line there was an interfusion of the thought and myth and learning of the two races. Some have held

HEAD OF VENUS—FROM A COIN OF PAPHOS, IN BRITISH MUSEUM

that men of the Hellenic race occupied Cyprus before the time of the Phœnicians; but the other view is probably correct. At a subsequent period the Greeks obtained political supremacy over the island and the Phœnician population was subjected. In these facts the reader may discover the mixed character of the Cyprian antiquities. In our own day the country has been much visited by antiquarians, and their labors have been rewarded with great results. The mixed character, however, is stamped upon nearly all of the Cyprian remains. Here the touch is that of the Semites, and there the hand of the Greek.

The Phœnician development, ethnically considered, was little different in Cyprus from that which prevailed on the Syrian coast. Could we have entered the towns of Citium or Amathus, Curium or Paphos—called anciently Palæ—Soli,[1]

Institutions of the Cyprians derived from the mother city.

or indeed any of the Cyprian cities in the times of the Phœnician ascendency, we should have found a type of the civilized life differing but little from that of the mother cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus. It was only after the Greek settlements in the island had become important that the distinctly Phœnician character of the population, and of the arts and industries, was modified into other forms and types. Governmentally, Cyprus was a monarchy, or kingdom, like those of the parent state. We have already noted the fact that kingship as a type of government extended no further west than this meridian; that is, in the hands of the Phœnicians.

It would appear that of all the Phœnician peoples the Cyprians had the highest concept of art. The ruins of the island furnish specimens of sculpture which may well be set in competition with that of the Greeks. It is difficult to know to what an extent this artistic

High artistic development of the Cyprians.

TEMPLE OF VENUS—FROM A COIN OF CYPRUS, IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

development was the result of the culture of the Greeks, and to what extent it was native. In some instances the

[1] The breaking and foaming of two race currents in the streets of Soli gave rise to a mixed jargon of speech; hence the English word *solecism*.

marks of both influences are found on the same artistic product. Some of the Cyprian sarcophagi—among the finest in the world—are plainly the result of a mixed art, in which the hand was guided in part by the skill of the Phœnician and in part by the delicate instinct of the Greek. There was a large artistic life in the island in the days of its ancient prosperity, and the relics of the same are scattered abundantly in many places.

The religious culture of the island was that of Astarte, or, as the Greeks called her, Aphrodite. The situation was such as to encourage the development of the worship of Love. The beautiful climate and the sea-washed shores, the mild skies and warm atmosphere, conduced to the rapid development of the sexual powers, and at the same time kept off those gloomy and austere moods of mind out of which sprang the darker ceremonials of Syria and the East. Cyprus might well be regarded as the native place of Love. The abundant growth and fruitage of the vine, the dove-inhabited groves, the easy and prosperous conditions of life, all conspired to make the primitive islanders the devotees of Astarte. Nor did that divinity here exact from her worshipers the gross and unnatural services which were rendered to her in the older cities of Syria. She, also, as well as her worshipers, grew mild and enchanting under the salubrious skies and beautiful landscape of the seagirt island. Here was she so much enthralled that she claimed it for her birthplace—a myth which the fanciful Greeks shall transmit with their language and song to after ages and many races of men.

Aphrodite takes Cyprus for her birthplace.

Politically, the island of Cyprus was in the first place an object of desire to Egypt on the one hand, and to the Mesopotamian nations on the other. In the sixth century B. C., Amasis, the Egyptian Pharaoh, conquered Cyprus, and made it tributary until the invasion of Cambyses, when the Cyprians revolted and went over to Persia. In the Ionian insurrection the people of the island took the side of the Greeks, and afterward suffered for their defection. At one time, under the leadership of Evagoras, King of Salamis, the islanders gained a brief independence; but with the rise of Alexander all the Cyprian cities joined him, and led their fleets in an unnatural siege of their mother, Tyre.

Midway ethnical position of the island.

Among the successors of the Macedonian, Cyprus was a disputed prize. Meanwhile the Jews, with the loss of nationality, came over in such numbers as to become predominant. Another aspect was that of the introduction of Christianity by Paul, and the spread of the new faith until no fewer than thirteen bishoprics were planted in the island. Then came the ascendency of Islam. Cyprus passed under the dominion of the Caliphs, and remained so until the time of the Crusades. The island was given during the Holy Wars to Guy of Lusignan. Feudalism was introduced and prevailed for several centuries. Close relations were contracted between the island and the Phœnicians. For a long time the Turcomans were kept at bay. Not until 1570 did Selim II gain by conquest an indisputed supremacy.

Historical vicissitudes of the Cyprian race.

Of all the Semitic races, that stock which most nearly reached a true historical supremacy was the Carthaginians. Carthage was a Phœnician colony. The story of the founding is lost in myth

SITE AND BAY OF CARTHAGE.—Drawn by W. H. Boot.

and tradition. At the high noon of the classical age, Vergil sought in humane song to save a part of the reputation of the ancient rival of Rome from oblivion. The story of Pygmalion and Dido is as wide as the dissemination of learning. The Phœnician princess whose husband Sichæus (more properly her uncle Acerbas), priest of Hercules, had been murdered by Pygmalion, gathered a company of disaffected noblemen, took to ship, and escaped to the far West. Landing first at Cyprus, they pursued their voyage to the African coast, at that point where it most nearly approaches Sicily. There the exiles landed, purchased as much land as might be covered with a bull's hide, did the trick of cutting the hide into thin strips, and thus enclosed a tract large enough to found a town.

Tradition of the colonization of Carthage.

Doubtless there is in this famous tradition a trace of truth. How little or how much none may ever determine with certainty. In any event Carthage was a Phœnician colony. The settlement grew and flourished. It became a commercial republic. It gathered to itself wealth and splendor. It became a warlike power. The African coast was subdued. The Mediterranean yielded to the Carthaginian banner. The city grew to be a parent state, though itself an offshoot. It sent out colonies to distant coasts. In Sicily it established its authority. On the Spanish shores it planted settlements. It rose to fame, and for a season promised to dominate the countries surrounding the Mediterranean.

Rise of the Carthaginians to power.

This is not the place in which to recount the historical aspects of Carthaginian nationality. Carthage was to the parent state what Magna Grecia, or Great Greece, was to the mothern Hellas. The Carthaginians made a display of political and social development. They exhibited national capacities and aptitudes, a largeness of view, and a breadth of policy for which we should look in vain among any other people of the Semitic race. That they failed at last when the crisis came to crush down Rome and become the reigning power in what was regarded as the central region of the earth, was one of those historical balancings which depend upon the action of forces too profound for the present powers of the human mind. How great, indeed, would have been the change in all subsequent history if Hannibal had succeeded in grinding his enemy beneath his heel! But history knows not *if*, and *might have been* is a form of words unwritten in her book of phrases.

Political development and superiority of Carthaginians.

The Carthaginian constitution was aristocratical in its bottom principles. True, we do not clearly understand its provisions. Aristotle, in his *Book of Politics*, as well as Polybius, Livy, Nepos, and other Roman authors, has thrown a side glance and prejudiced light into the question of the civil organization of Carthage. We know so much as this, that there were two chief magistrates, called in their native tongue, *Sophetim*, or, as our language writes it, suffetes, who corresponded to the Roman consuls. Some have likened them to the two kings of the Spartans.

Character of the constitution; the Sophetim.

The important part of the constitution was its popular, or democratic, character. The suffetes were elected statedly, at a general election at which the people were voters. The suffrage was not, indeed, universal, but was limited by wealth and birth and personal merit.

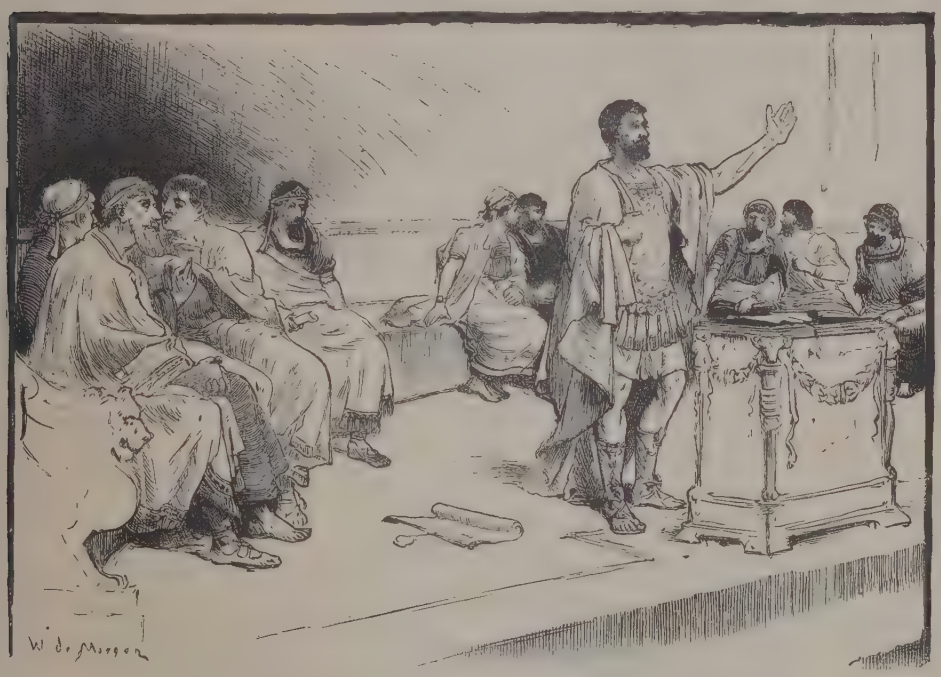
Right of suffrage; alleged corruption of society.

The suffetes held office for one year, but might be reëlected. There was a senate composed of Carthaginian nobles, warriors, and priests; but whether or not it was divided into two houses has not been determined. The organization, on the whole, was not unlike that of the Romans, to which it was second only in strength and efficiency.

It is claimed by the Roman historians and philosophers that the administration of Carthage was corrupt, and that bribery was universally practiced in the elections. If so, it were no more than might be witnessed in Rome herself, and in nearly all other nations having a popular or half-popular form of government.

In course of time a popular body grew up in Carthage resembling the Plebs, or Commons, of Rome. Officers were chosen to represent this element in the state. Bodies of commissioners called *pentarchies*, selected from the principal families, became very powerful in limiting and influencing the constituted authorities. The Carthaginian council, consisting of a hundred and four members, generally conformed to the will of the pentarchies. The latter came at length to be the chief force in the state. Wielding popular opinion, they were able to put up and put down the greatest civil and military leaders of the age.

Evolution and influence of the pentarchies.



CARTHAGINIAN GENERAL BEFORE THE SOPHETIM.—Drawn by W. J. Morgan.

As colonists, as a people, as a nation, the Carthaginians retained the religion of the parent state. Like all the other Semites, they were profoundly religious. Indeed, it were hard to distinguish in the case of any of these peoples between the secular and the religious life. The priest and the civil officer held nearly

Religious character of the people; the priesthood.

identical relations to the people whose life they influenced and directed. Among the Carthaginians, indeed, there was no order of priests as distinguished from the other officers of the republic. There was no Levitical gild or other family right in the matter of religious honors. Yet there were men set apart to attend professionally to the ceremonies of the national religion.

This was the imported religion of the old Phœnician cities. We may believe it true that on this far-off African coast the ceremonial and theory of the ancient faith were better preserved than in the island of Cyprus. The cruel and bloody aspects of Phœnician worship were reduplicated among the Carthaginians.

GROVES OF BAÄL ATTACKED BY HOSTILE TRIBES.

They had their sacred groves, their high places, and their idols. Baäl was worshiped, and was considered by the Greeks and Romans as identical with their Cronos, or Saturn. He was the god of the sun and of fire. If we may believe the contemporaneous accounts of the Latin

Ancient faith reproduced in Carthage; human sacrifices.

authors, the practice of human sacrifice was prevalent. There was a great effigy of metal, having arms and hands and fingers of iron so constructed that children and other offerings thrown into the extended palms were enfolded and cast into the breast of the image, where burned a fiery furnace.

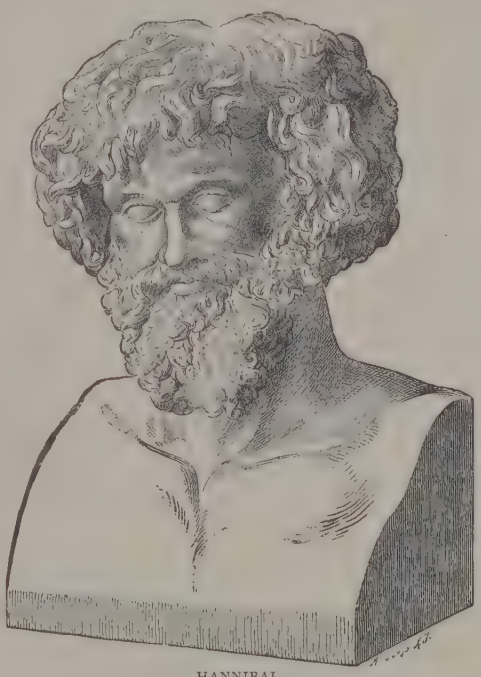
Worship of Astarte and Baäl in the West.

The story of human offerings to this grim idol is among the most revolting of all the horrors done in the name of religion. In Carthage, Astarte also was worshiped as the goddess of procreation and birth. There also Ammon was adored, and Melkarth, the ancient Phœnician Hercules, in whose honor funeral pyres were kindled and eagles released for flight, typical of the fabled phœnix rising from the focus of the sun-flame. These rites and ceremonies were practiced not only in Carthage, but also in her secondary colonies. Human sacrifices were offered in nearly every place where she established her settlements and built her temples. As far west as Gades, the modern Cadiz, the altars of Baäl smoked with the consuming flames that wrapped and devoured the bodies of human beings.

Obliteration of Carthaginian records; repopulation.

Of Carthaginian literature not much is known. The implacable hostility of Rome carried down the culture of the people with the people themselves. Letters, however, were cultivated, and the inscriptions furnish us with some of the most elegant work done anywhere in the world by Semitic hands. Historians have been for good reasons disposed to deplore the destruction of the records of Carthage, containing as they did the annals of one of the strongest peoples who rose and flourished in the millenium preceding our era.

There is, perhaps, no case of a more complete obliteration of a race than that afforded in the destruction of Carthaginian nationality. Rome spared nothing. Her experience with the Carthaginians, extending over two or three centuries, had led her to dread them more than she dreaded any other people who opposed her progress. After the conquest she took pains to colonize the



HANNIBAL.

African coast with people of her own stock. Africa was Romanized, and with this fact began that long series of ethnic changes which have left as their residue the Tunisians of the present day. In the modern race or races inhabiting this part of North Africa we may not discover a trace of Carthaginian descent. Indeed, a careful analysis of the people now inhabiting the country would show elements of almost all the prevailing bloods round about the Mediterranean *except* that one blood which flowed in the veins of Hamilcar and Hannibal.

The Roman population which supplanted the Carthaginian in this part of the African coast continued predominant until the age of the Vandal conquest. This happened in the first half of the fifth century. A hundred years later the country was recovered by the sword of Belisarius. The Vandal population, however, remained, and was amalgamated with the Roman elements and with the Berbers, who already began to assert themselves as far north as the coast. Then came the Mohammedan conquest. By this agency another Semitic race was laid over the Aryan elements which had predominated for more than eight centuries.

Origin and descent of the modern Tunisians.

In the eleventh century the Bedouin Arabs, of Upper Egypt, rolled in a vast wave westward, overwhelming Tunis as well as the Tripolitan provinces. Out of this melange of nations and races has sprung the modern Tunisian population. It is a composite race in which Semitic elements have again prevailed, but are intermixed with an older Aryan stock and with the Turcomans, who since the sixteenth century have held political sway in the country.

The consideration of the Hebraic division of the Semitic race may properly conclude with some account of the Neo-Syrian population now occupying the countries once held by the Hebrews, the Canaanites, and the Phœnicians. The name Syria is applied in modern geography to the country lying between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. Within this region we may say that Semitism is still predominant.

Semitism still preponderates in Syrian countries.

THE HORNS OF HATTIN.—Drawn by H. A. Harper, from a photograph.

The peculiarity of the situation is that the Aramaic stock has pressed upon the Hebraic from the north and east to the extent of replacing it in most of its ancient seats.

In order to understand the ethnic condition of Syria, we must glance for a moment at the historical vicissitudes through which the country has passed since the ascendency of the Hebraic kingdoms. There are at the present time about two million of people within the limits of Syria. These are referable ethnically, socially, and religiously to several different origins. In the first place, the Cheta, or Hittites, of antiquity have continued for more than two thousand years to occupy by their descendants the country of their ancient choice. It could not be said, however, that the descendent race is to any considerable degree a reproduction of the ancients. So many influences, ethnical, national, and religious, have passed over Syria that it is difficult to discover in any of the present peoples the lineal descendants of the Canaanitish races.

Ethnic genesis of the modern or Neo-Syrians.

The reader will readily recall the long-continued contest between the Assyrians and the Egyptians for the possession of Palestine and the Mediterranean coast. For many centuries the Phœnician kingdoms and the Hebrew state withstood these encroachments. The latter yielded at length to the powerful armies of the East, and Hebraic nationality ended with conquest and transportation. It was a part of the policy of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings to transfer colonies from Mesopo-

Placement and replacement of populations in the country.

RUINS OF SAMARIA.—Drawn by H. A. Harper, from a photograph.

tamia into the outlying countries which they had conquered. This policy was adopted with Israel and Judah. At the same time that the Jews and Samaritans were borne away captive to the Euphrates, large bodies of Babylonians and Assyrians were transferred into Syria.

This policy and practice brought an Aramaic population into the countries occupied before by the Hebraic nations. There was thus injected into the ethnic life of Syria a large element of northern Semitic blood. If we view the cities of Judah, Samaria, Phœnicia, and Damascus at any time after the end of the Hebrew captivity and before the ascendency of Rome, we shall find already a large admixture of Hebraic and Aramaic elements. It was in this condition that Rome found and conquered the country. About forty years before our era there was a Parthian invasion of Palestine; but its effects were little noticeable on the population. Under Roman sway the province of Palestina, or Judæa, became one of the most desirable of the empire. Antioch was the capital. A degree of civilization was reached which Israel had never attained. The culture of Antioch, which rose to be the third city of the empire, was proverbial throughout the civilized world.

ANTIOCH.

Invasions by the Aramæans, Parthians, and Romans.

The Roman ascendency, however, in the Hebraic countries was in the nature of a political and military occupation. The existing populations were not much disturbed by the presence of the imperial government in their cities. It was not the policy of Rome in her age of conquest to persecute, distract, and toss about the peoples whom she conquered. On the contrary, she sought as far as

Provincial policy of the Romans.

practicable to preserve the ethnic *status in quo*. This policy she pursued with her Syrian populations, dividing the countries between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean into nine districts, or administrative capitals.

The first of these was Syria, of the Euphrates, having for its capital Hierapolis. The second was that Cœle-Syria, which had Antioch for its capital. The third was called Syria Salutaris, with Apamea, on the Orontes, as its capital town. The fourth was Phœnice Maratima, having Tyre as its center. The fifth was Phœnice ad Libanum, with its capital Emesa. This included the ancient districts of Damascus and Palmyra. Then followed the three districts of Palestina Proper. The ninth region was Arabia, with Bostra for its capital; but this district belongs to another branch of the Semitic family.

Districts and capital towns of Palestina.

Roman authority in this part of the world yielded first, in the beginning of the seventh century, to Persian aggression. A little later Syria was under the dominion of the Byzantine emperors, and then fell under the Mohammedan conquest. The Arabs divided the country for governmental purposes in the manner of the Romans. To a certain extent an Arabian population was introduced, but not to the displacement of existing peoples. The Islamite status was preserved until the time of the Crusades, when the rough warriors of the West bore down upon the East and effected a lodgment in the heart of what had been the Hebraic division of the world.

Race aggressions after the Roman ascendency.

It was in the time of the Arabian ascendency in Syria that the two classes of Arabs, namely, the nomads, known by their modern name of Bedouins, and the sendentary, or City Arabs, of the more civilized class, were distributed through Palestine and far to the east. The Bedouins in particular scattered themselves through the country and became ever afterwards a large element in the aggregate population of Syria. Hereafter we shall speak of them more at length. Measurably independent of

Division of population into Bedouins and City Arabs.

BEDOUIN TYPE.
Drawn by George Logmaar.

governmental control, they devote themselves to their flocks of sheep and goats, live a half-wild life, cultivate robbery as an art, fly from place to place on their camels, and subsist upon the products of the more industrious and honest peasants. They keep themselves to the inland districts away from the coast. A single tribe of the Bedouins is estimated to number at the present time three hundred thousand, spreading itself in numerous bands from Arabia to the Euphrates.

Finally, we must take into consideration the Turkish conquest and occupation of Syria. This country was the end of their progress to the southwest. Before the Crusades the Turcomans had gained a political ascendency in Palestine, establishing themselves over the Arabic and older populations in a reign of half-savage authority. This element has continued to the present time to be a powerful, if not predominant, part of the ethnic life of Palestine and the surrounding regions. The Turcomans and the Arabs agree in upholding Islam as a common faith; but in other respects they are strongly discriminated.

Ascendencies of Turcomans and Christians in Syria.

Meanwhile, the Christian civilization of the West has found a lodgment in various parts, bringing with it an element of population. The old native Syrian tribes preserved their existence in many sects and organizations. Among these may be mentioned the Mosairians and the Druses, both of which have their ethnic origins deep down in an ancient population. This is true also of the Jews, who are found in considerable strength in all the larger centers of Syria. These have not preserved their local existence in the country, but are immigrants and colonists from Europe. As for the Christians, they are for the most part Greek Catholics, under the authority of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem.

The traveler through Syria is soon able to inform himself of the general ethnic character of the people. Jerusalem itself furnishes a sort of epitome of all. The Holy City contains within its walls nearly all the diverse elements of the East. In the Moslem quarter one may discover the Arabic and Turcoman populations in full possession. The Jewish quarter furnishes the best modern example of the ancient character of the Semitic race. In the Armenian quarter are found Asiatic and European peoples, who are generally Greek Catholics and orthodox Armenians. In the Latin quarter the Roman Catholic elements are aggregated around their priests and monks, who are for the most part Jesuits and Franciscan brothers. Outside of the city the wayfarer may expect to make the acquaintance of the Bedouins, who constitute one of the most picturesque, and at the same time most disagreeable, elements of Eastern population.

Modern Jerusalem an epitome of Eastern races.

A considerable treatise might not exhaust the subject of Syriac literature. It might be expected, *a priori*, that letters would not be neglected in a country with such antecedents. We should not, however, expect of any Semitic populations so situated the vast literary efflorescence which marks the intellectual life of the Aryan peoples, both ancient and modern. There would also be in the case of the Syrians an antecedent expectation of a strongly religious cast in their literature. Syriac letters began to be cultivated with the versions of the Bible, which were made into the literary language between the second and fourth centuries. To this followed a large body of controversial writings, in which the Church fathers

Rise of Syriac letters; Persian and Nestorian schools.

25 DERVISH AND NESTORIAN BEGGARS.—Drawn by V. Pranishnikoff.

of Antioch and other Syrian cities entered with spirit into the theological disputes of the early Christian Church.

In the fifth century Persian schools were established at Edessa, and for a while gave direction to literary culture. Nearly all the authors, however, continued to be fathers of the Church, and this was the type of culture at the time of the Mohammedan conquest. Koranic literature then began to compete with the Christian, and at length triumphed over it, but not to the extent of extermination. The Nestorians have cultivated letters from the Middle Ages, but have never been able to emancipate Syriac thought from the confines of theological disputation.

We have thus considered somewhat at length the different branches of the Hebraic race. We have seen the originals of these divisions of mankind pushing out from the central and lower Euphrates across the Syrian desert to the countries bordering on the Eastern Mediterranean. These movements belonged to a period far anterior to the beginnings of formal history. The outgoing tribes were, first of all, those Canaanitish peoples of whom we have gained our principal information from the writings of the Hebrews. Afterwards came the Hebrews themselves and the Phœnicians. We have watched the historical and ethnical development of these divisions of mankind, and have noted the degree of importance which they attained among ancient peoples. We have seen the westward progress of this branch of the Semites as far as Carthage, the inner shores of Spain, and the outer coasts of Western Europe. We have marked the political crisis of the Semitic race in the case of the Carthaginians. We have glanced in turn at the modern descendants of this Hebraic division of men, finding only as the present representatives of the ancient race the Hebrews and the Neo-Syrians —the former dispersed among the nations; and the latter, though still possessing a country, yet presenting no distinctive ethnic type upon which to place the expectation of a future development into the higher forms of civilization.

Synopsis of the Hebraic evolution.

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